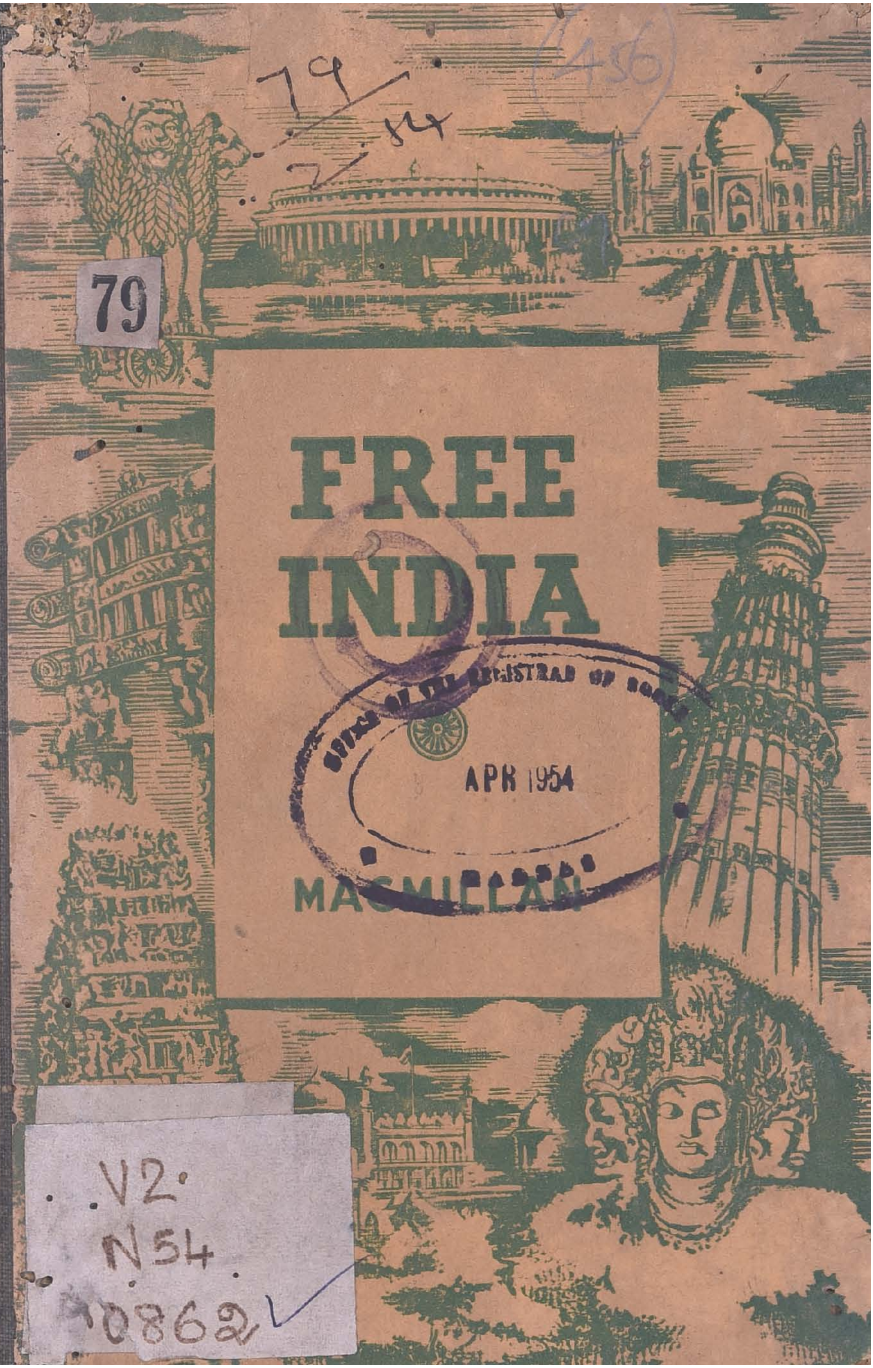

FREE INDIA

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FREE INDIA

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FREE INDIA

'If there is one place on the face of the earth where all the dreams of living men have found a home from the very earliest days when man began the dream of existence, it is India.'

Romain Rolland

'I shall work for an India in which the poorest shall feel that it is their country, in whose making they have an effective voice, an India in which there shall be no high class and low class of people, an India in which all communities shall live in perfect harmony... There can be no room in such India for the curse of untouchability or the curse of intoxicating drinks and drugs ...Women will enjoy the same rights as men...This is the India of my dreams.'

Mahatma Gandhi

INTRODUCTION

India has a storied past and is rich in history and legend. With the dawn of freedom, she has awakened into a new life—a sort of resurrection, as it were. Today ' India stands forth again after long slumber and struggle, awake, vital, free and independent......'

Freedom has come to us, but it has brought with it responsibilities and burdens which we, as enlightened citizens of Free India, must bear and discharge.

Indian boys and girls of today must work in the spirit of their forefathers and prove themselves worthy of the rich and glorious heritage which has come down to them. In the noble words of the pledge taken by the members of the Constituent Assembly at midnight on 14th-15th August, 1947, they must ' dedicate themselves in all humility to the service of India and her people to the end that this ancient land attain her rightful and honoured place in the world and make her full and willing contribution to the promotion of world peace and the welfare of mankind.'

CONTENTS

	PAGE
OUR ANCIENT HERITAGE	7
THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM ..	18
BUILDING A NATION	42
NATIONAL HOUSEKEEPING—THE FIVE YEAR PLAN	52
INDIA'S CHARTER OF FREEDOM ..	64
THE FLAG AND THE EMBLEM OF OUR REPUBLIC	90
THE THREE PILLARS OF OUR FREEDOM	105
THE MARTYRDOM OF MAHATMA GANDHI	136

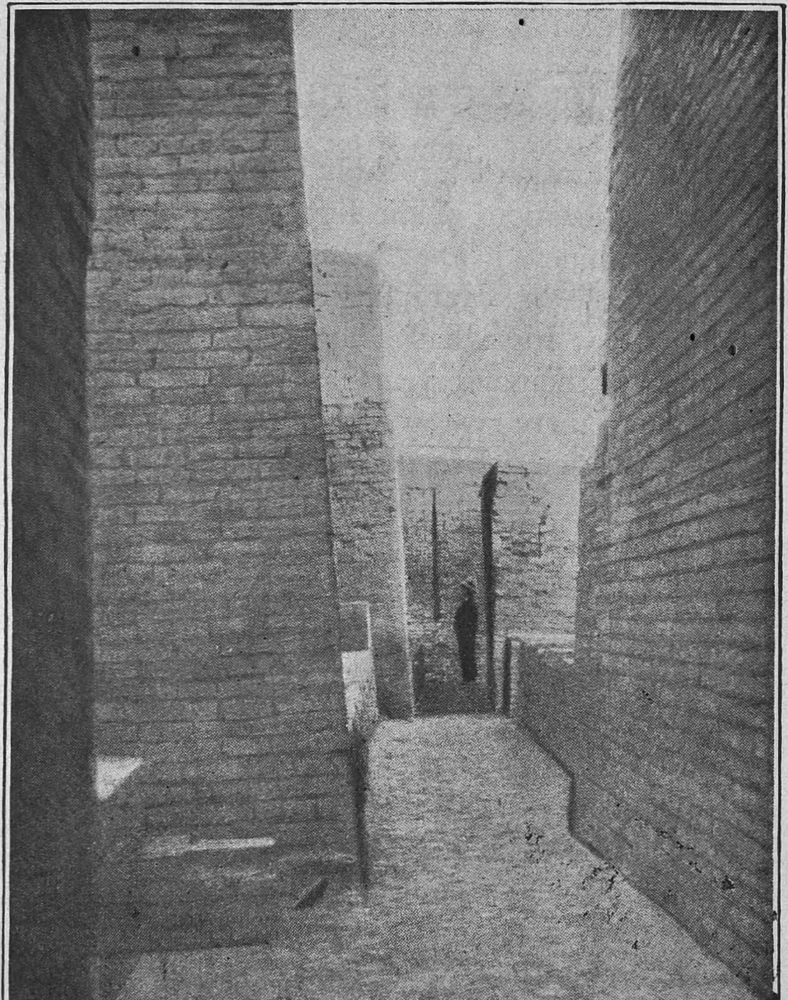
OUR ANCIENT HERITAGE

INDIAN civilization is probably even older than the ancient civilizations of the Egyptians, the Syrians, and the Chinese. The excavations at Mohenjo-daro in Sind and Harappa in West Punjab have revealed that India had a highly advanced civilization five thousand years ago. The ruins and relics found there give us a clear picture of our ancient civilization. Exactly how and when the Indus Valley civilization came to an end is still a mystery. Perhaps the floods in the Indus were responsible for its gradual disappearance.

Mohenjo-daro, which means 'The Mound of the Dead', is about seventy miles from Sukkur, which is in Sind. It consists of one very big mound, about 1,300 yards long and 70 yards wide, and several smaller mounds.

Our archaeologists began to dig one of these mounds. After hard and patient digging for several years they at last came upon the ruins of a big city which flourished about 5,000 years ago.

The excavated ruins show that the Indians who lived there so many centuries ago were a very clever and highly civilized people. They lived in well-planned cities with a proper drainage system. It

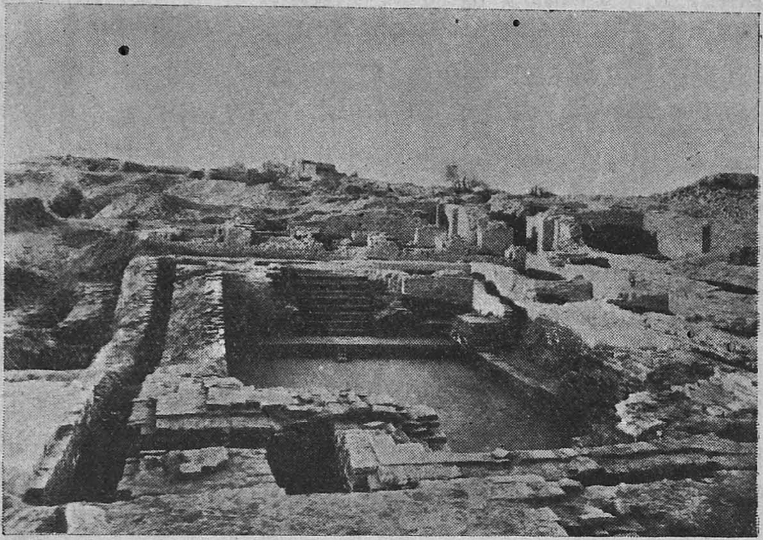


A LANE IN THE ANCIENT CITY OF MOHENJO-DARO

is a matter for wonder that those ancient people knew so much about sanitation and town planning when even today there are hundreds of towns and thousands of villages in India where people know practically nothing about any of these subjects, and enjoy none of the advantages such knowledge would bring.

There were broad roads and smaller lanes with shops and booths. The streets were straight and crossed one another at right angles. The houses were well built of baked bricks. They were probably of one storey or more, with stairways leading to upper rooms. The roofs were made of stamped clay. Almost all the houses had bathrooms which were always placed on the street side of the building for the convenient disposal of water. There were adequate arrangements for drainage. A brick-lined channel flowed down every street, and into this main drain ran smaller drains from the houses on either side. Another important feature of the drainage system was the provision of large brick culverts on the outskirts of the city to carry away rain-water and thus prevent flooding, an evil from which many of our towns and villages suffer even today.

One of the most remarkable buildings found at Mohenjo-daro is the Great Tank or Bath, forty feet long and twenty-three feet wide, built entirely of baked bricks. At either end an imposing flight of



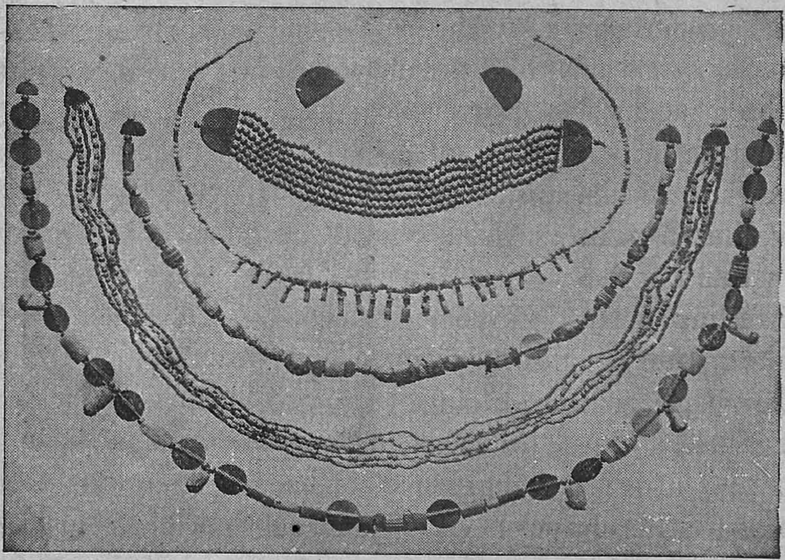
THE GREAT BATH, MOHENJO-DARO

steps, once covered with wood, led down to the water's edge. 'The broad walk at the top of the bath rested on cells filled with clay. There were walls with openings which provided access to a cloistered walk running round the bath. The eight bathrooms, to the north of the bath, were provided with stairways probably leading to an upper storey. There was a drain for emptying the tank. There was even a manhole for the proper inspection of the drain.'

The public and private baths, the spacious and well-planned houses made of baked bricks and the excellent drainage system we find at Mohenjo-daro

point to a civilization far superior in some respects to that of Mesopotamia and Egypt of the same period.

It may be interesting to note that cotton was used for textiles even at that remote period in India. Sir John Marshall compares and contrasts the Indus Valley civilization with those of contemporary Egypt and Mesopotamia: 'Thus, to mention only a few salient points, the use of cotton for textiles was exclusively restricted at this period to India and was not extended to the western world until 2,000 or 3,000 years later. Again, there is nothing that we know of in prehistoric Egypt or Mesopotamia or



MOHENJO-DARO JEWELLERY

anywhere else in western Asia to compare with the well-built baths and commodious houses of the citizens of Mohenjo-daro.'

Women wore ornaments such as necklaces, bracelets, bangles, beads, fillets, and ear-rings. These were generally made of gold and silver. Marshall says: 'The gold ornaments are so well finished and so highly polished that they might have come out of a Bond Street jeweller's of today rather than from a prehistoric house of 5,000 years ago.'

The people of the Indus Valley knew the use of certain metals such as copper, bronze, and tin, for most of the vessels that have been discovered are made of copper or bronze.

These people were highly artistic, as is clear from the ancient vases found at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa. Pottery had developed greatly even by that time, and the potter turned out articles of several kinds, plain as well as ornamented.

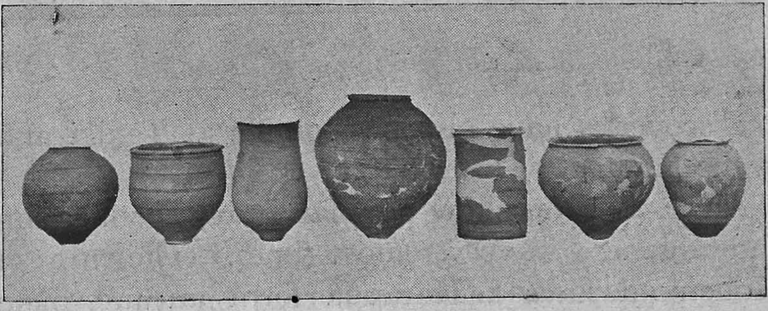
SEAL OF MOHENJO-DARO

The people were also familiar with animals like bulls, monkeys, camels, tigers and elephants. How do we know this? Because many seals have been discovered on which these animals are engraved.

Even children's toys, made of clay, such as carts, chariots, rattles, whistles and dolls, have been found. They are very like the simple toys that children of our own time love to play with.

We thus find that this Indus Valley civilization was an urban civilization whose enterprising citizens carried on trade with far-off countries, including South India and modern Iraq. It is quite clear that the craftsmen of the Indus cities were, to a large extent, producing 'for the market.' Storehouses attached to many spacious and commodious private houses mark their owners as merchants. Well-planned streets and a magnificent system of drains, regularly cleared out, show that some regular municipal government existed.

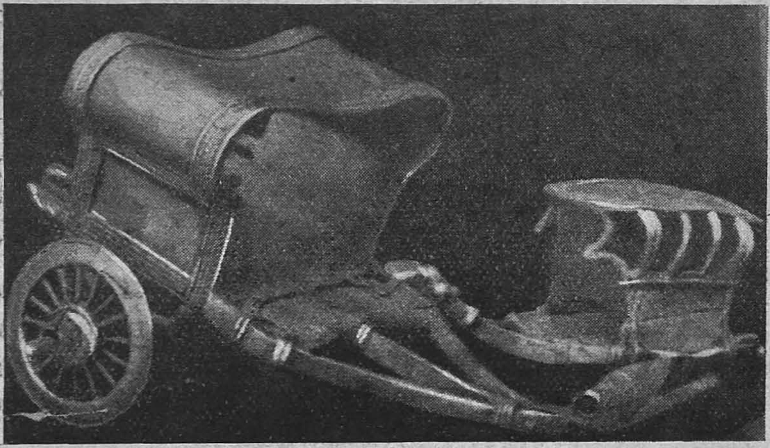
The dwelling-houses and streets of Harappa resemble those of Mohenjo-daro. This proves that 5,000 years ago civilized people lived in Harappa, many miles from Mohenjo-daro. The social cus-



ANCIENT VASES FOUND NEAR HARAPPA

toms, religion and daily life in the two cities were, in general, similar. The copper and bronze articles, pottery, gold ornaments and jewellery found at Harappa are similar to those discovered at Mohenjo-daro.

The most remarkable historical building dug out at Harappa is the Great Granary. It is a gigantic structure with twelve parallel walls.



TOY CHARIOT FOUND NEAR KOLHAPUR

Discoveries have also been made at Taxila and in the Kolhapur District.

All these ruins show how far Indian civilization had advanced in very remote times. The ruins of Mohenjo-daro and Harappa form an unbroken chain which links modern India with the far-dist-

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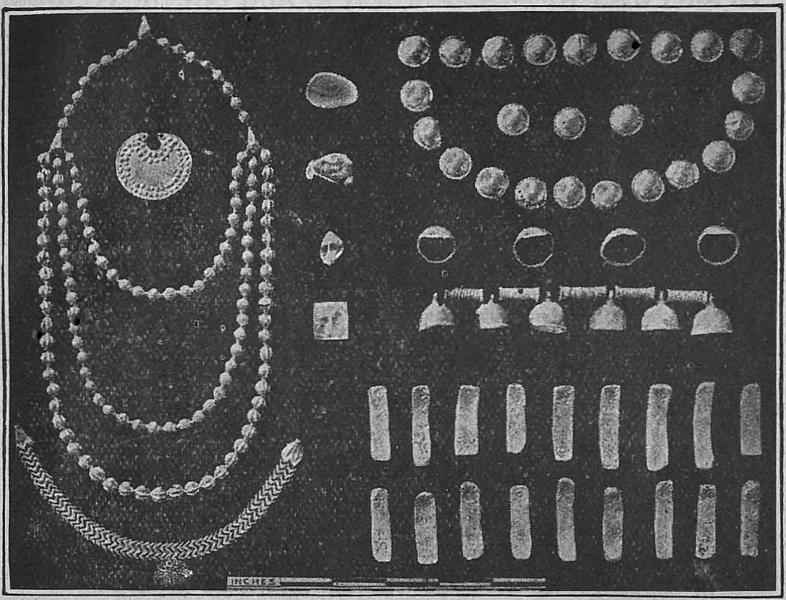


GOLD AND SILVER JEWELLERY FOUND NEAR TAXILA

ant period of six or seven thousand years ago when the Indus Valley civilization probably began.

Max Müller, the famous scholar and Orientalist, emphasizes the growth and continuity of Indian culture and civilization through three or four thousand years : 'There is, in fact, an unbroken continuity between the most modern and the most ancient phases of Hindu thought, extending over more than three thousand years.' Carried away by his enthusiasm, he said, while delivering lectures at the University of Cambridge, in 1882: 'If we were

to look over the whole world to find out the country most richly endowed with all the wealth, power, and beauty that nature can bestow—in some parts a very paradise on earth—I should point to India. If I were asked under what sky the human mind has most fully developed some of its choicest gifts, has most deeply pondered over the greatest problems of life, and has found solutions of some of them which well deserve the attention even of those who have studied Plato and Kant—I should point to India.'

QUESTIONS

1. How do you know that the Indian civilization is older than the Egyptian, the Syrian and the Chinese?
2. What do the ruins of Mohenjo-daro show?
3. What is the most remarkable building to be found at Mohenjo-daro?
4. What do you know of the Indus Valley civilization?
5. In what ways was the Indus Valley civilization an urban civilization?
6. What do the ruins discovered at Harappa show?
7. What does Max Müller say of Indian culture and civilization?
8. Write a short essay on 'Our Rich Cultural Heritage.'

NOTES

heritage: what is or may be inherited; ancient culture.

excavations : places where digging has been done for some special purpose.

relics : remains; what has escaped destruction.

archaeologists : those who study antiquities, especially of the prehistoric period.

drainage : system of drains, artificial or natural.

culverts : channels, conduits, for carrying water under roads, canals, etc.

outskirts : places near the border of a city, district, etc.

access : approach.

cloistered : open at the side with a roof supported by pillars or arches.

man-hole : opening in floor, sewer, etc., for a man to pass through.

textiles : cloths.

salient : prominent; most noticeable or important.

fillets : head-band, ribbon, etc., for binding the hair or worn round head.

rattles : toys that make a rattling noise to amuse babies.

urban : of a city or town.

gigantic : giant-like in size; huge.

links : connects.

Plato : a famous Greek philosopher.

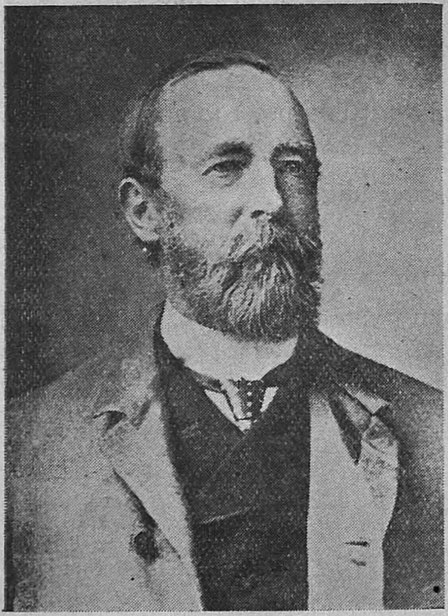
Kant : a famous German philosopher.

THE FIGHT FOR FREEDOM

The history of the Indian National Congress is the history of India's fight for freedom. It was the people who won that fight, but it was the Congress that led them to victory. No matter what political party we may support today, we have to thank the Congress more than any other political organization for the independence of our country.

I

It was in Bombay, on 28th December, 1885, that the Congress met for the first time. It was founded by an Englishman, Alan Octavian Hume, who was a retired Civil Service official. He had no intention of ending British rule in India, but he sympathized with the educated Indians who wanted a



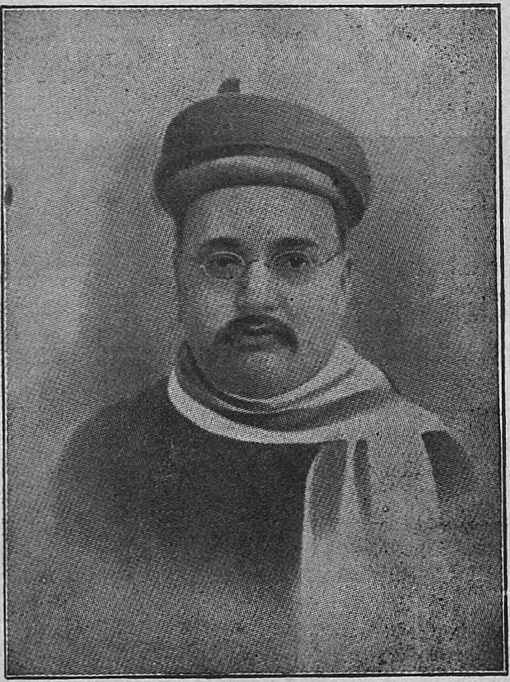
HUME

greater share in the government of their country, and he suggested that they should form an organization through which to express their views. So the Congress came into being, under the presidency of W. C. Bonnerjee. It met every year in different places from 1885 to 1905, but during that time very little of what it said or did was of any interest to the masses. Most of its members were men who had been educated in England: they wanted more Indians and fewer Englishmen to be employed in the higher ranks of government service, and they asked for this reform in a strictly constitutional way. They knew little about the grinding poverty of the Indian people.

TILAK

Then a great leader arose in Maharashtra, Bal Ganghadar Tilak, known

as Lokamanya, 'Honoured of the People'. He was the first Indian political leader who understood the common people and won their enthusiasm. He did not believe that the Congress would impress the British Government merely by passing resolutions, and he suggested that Indians should boycott British goods. Some of the leading men of Bengal agreed with him, but on the whole the older Congress leaders did not like this kind of direct action. Two parties grew up inside the Congress, the Extremists led by Tilak, and the Moderates led by Gopal Krishna Gokhale. He was another very able leader of those days. He devoted the best part of his life to the service of the country.



GOKHALE

In 1907 the two parties disagreed so much that the Extremists had to leave the Congress. Some of the leaders were arrested: Lokamanya Tilak himself was sentenced to six years' imprisonment, and sent to Mandalay. But without the Extremists the Congress had little influence for some years; the Moderates did not capture the imagination of the counry. However, they organized themselves and drew up a written statement of their aims. They wanted the same kind of government for India as that of the self-governing members of the British Empire—in other words, what was later called Dominion Home Rule—and they intended to work for it by constitutional means, 'by bringing about a steady reform of the existing system of administration, and by promoting national unity, fostering public spirit, and developing and organizing the intellectual, moral, economic and industrial resources of the country'.

In 1908 the British introduced the 'Morley-Minto reforms', which gave a very little more responsibility to Indians in the administration. The Moderates were satisfied with this. The Extremists, with their leaders in jail, did not know what to do.

At last, in 1916, Lokamanya Tilak came out of jail and organized the Home Rule League. He was helped by Mrs. Annie Besant, who was the first woman to be President of the Congress. That year the Congress met in Lucknow, in an atmo-

sphere charged with enthusiasm for Home Rule. Moderates and Extremists were reunited. 'Home Rule,' said Tilak, 'means that I should be in my own country what an Englishman feels himself to be in his.'

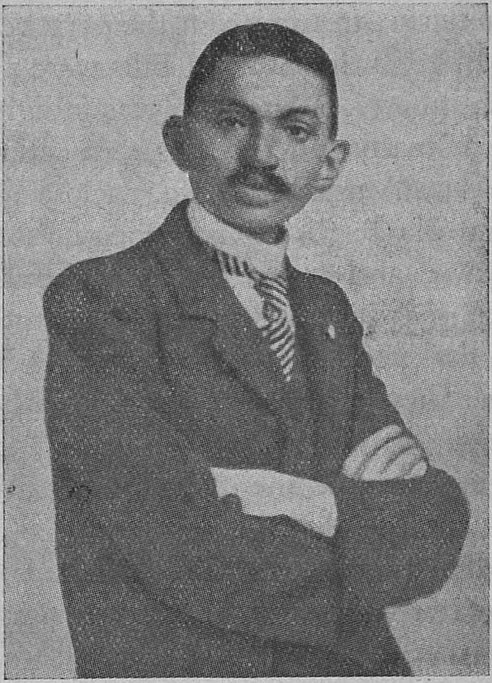
DR. ANNIE BESANT

The demand for self-government became stronger and the British Government announced further reforms, which were described in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Again the Congress was divided. The Moderates, who now called themselves the Liberals, welcomed the reforms and resigned from the Congress; the others thought the reforms insufficient and strongly disapproved of them.

II

It was about this time that Gandhiji began to play an important part in Congress politics. He

had already won fame by teaching the Indians of South Africa to defend their rights by non-violent means, and he had made some experiments in helping the common people of India in the same way. His teaching was simple and lofty. Love everyone and harm no one, was the substance of it, but do not lift a finger or stir a foot or speak a word in obedience to any command which your conscience tells you is wrong, even though you may have to suffer blows or imprisonment or death. But never hate those who injure you; try to win them by reason and love. If you have right aims, you will have no need to pursue them by wrong means. This is the principle of *satyagraha*. It is an ideal which even the most ignorant man can understand,



GANDHIJI IN SOUTH AFRICA

but even the best man may find it hard to follow consistently. Gandhiji always acted in the spirit of his own teaching, and the common people put their trust in him from the very beginning.

In 1919 the Rowlatt Bills were passed, restricting civil liberty. All India was indignant at this, and, as in many other places, a meeting of protest was held at Amritsar. in the enclosed space called Jallianwala Bagh. The troops fired on the unarmed crowd, and there was a frightful massacre; after this, martial law was imposed on the Punjab. The Indian people, and many people in Britain and all over the world, were shocked by the savagery of the deed. It is only fair to say that the British authorities censured the officer responsible, who resigned his command.

Up to this time Gandhiji had perhaps believed or hoped that the British *Raj* might be a force for good in India. Now he saw clearly that there must be something fundamentally wrong about a system which could lead to such terrible results. It happened that the Congress was meeting that year in Amritsar. Gandhiji was there, along with Lokamanya Tilak, and soon became its accepted leader.

The next year, he persuaded the Congress to adopt his programme of Non-co-operation with the British authorities. They were to use no violence, but they were to refuse to help the British administration or to make use of it in any way. They

were not to send their children to government-controlled schools or colleges, or take their disputes to the law-courts, and they were not to buy foreign cloth, but were to replace it as far as possible by cloth hand-spun and hand-woven in the villages.

This movement swept over the whole country. Thousands of people went to jail rather than obey a foreign government, and for the first time the authorities realized that the Congress was a force to be reckoned with.

But India was not disciplined enough to keep faithfully to Gandhiji's principle of absolute non-violence. There were fights between the people and the police, and at one place in the United Provinces, early in 1922, a crowd of peasants burnt down a police station with some policemen inside it. Gandhiji called off the movement rather than allow it to turn into a violent struggle. Soon afterwards he

MOTILAL NEHRU

was himself arrested, tried, and sentenced to six years' imprisonment.

While he was in jail there was another split in the Congress. Some people wanted to stick to the principle of Non-co-operation; others, led by Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das, wanted to run candidates for the elections under the new Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution. For this purpose they formed the *Swaraj* Party.

Gandhiji was released after two years, because he had to undergo an operation. But he did not wish to take advantage of this, and retired into the background, leaving the Swarajists to do their work. To him, it was even more important to go on teaching the people and inspiring them with his faith in non-violence.

In 1927 the British Government sent out from England a commission known as the Simon Commission, to find out how far the Indian people were fit for self-government. There was no Indian member on this Commission, and all the Indian political parties resented it. For the first time the Congress passed a resolution, put forward by Jawaharlal Nehru, declaring that its goal was full independence for India. For the time being they did no more than pass the resolution, because an All-Parties Conference was summoned, including many groups which were not ready to go so far, and this Conference agreed upon a Constitution for India, with-

in the limits of Dominion Home Rule. Two years later, however, when Jawaharlal Nehru was President, they decided to take action, since the All-Parties Constitution had got no further. In towns and villages all over India, Independence Day was celebrated on 26th January, 1930.

Indians looked to Gandhiji to lead them in a great non-violent campaign for freedom. How should they begin? What laws should they break to prove that they no longer submitted to British rule? Gandhiji picked out the measure which laid the most universal burden upon the common people of India—the Salt Tax. Millions of people lined the roads to watch while he marched to Dandi on the sea coast, and solemnly manufactured some salt, with his own hands, in public defiance of the law. Other leaders followed his example. 'We knew precious little about it,' writes Jawaharlal Nehru, '. . . . It was really immaterial whether the stuff was good or bad; the main thing was to commit a breach of the obnoxious Salt Law, and we were successful in that, even though the quality of our salt was poor.'

This was the signal for the greatest Civil Disobedience campaign in all history. Hundreds of thousands of people defied the law, held meetings and refused to disperse when the police ordered them, were beaten and run over in the streets and were sent to jail until the jails were too full to hold

any more, and all the time they maintained their non-violent discipline. Gandhiji and the Congress had trained them well. Young women who had hardly ever left their homes before came out into the streets to picket foreign cloth-shops in the blazing sun. Schoolboys and college students faced the charges of the police, proud to suffer for their country. Leader after leader, including Jawaharlal Nehru and Gandhiji himself, was put into jail, and always new leaders stepped forward to take their place.

On 25th January, 1931—almost exactly a year after Independence Day—the government made a provisional agreement with the Congress, promising to discuss the question of India's freedom at a Round Table Conference. A pact was signed between Gandhiji and the Viceroy, Lord Irwin, and Civil Disobedience came to an end.

There was a Round Table Conference in London that same year, but the British Government decided what Indian parties and groups should be represented there. Gandhiji alone represented the Congress, and although Civil Disobedience had proved that India's millions supported the Congress, his voice counted as only one among many. 'The Congress,' he said, 'seeks independence, including the control of defence forces, external affairs, and finance.' The British Government would not listen to this. Gandhiji went back to India,

GANDHIJI AT THE ROUND TABLE CONFERENCE

and within a week Civil Disobedience began all over again. This time, the magistrates and the police were given new powers to suppress it by force.

Meanwhile, in England a new Constitution was being drafted for India. It passed through the British Parliament as the Government of India Act of 1935. The Congress rejected it, but, when general Provincial elections were held in 1937 they decided to run candidates just to prove that they had the support of the nation. They did prove it, for they were able to form governments in eight out of the eleven Provinces of British India. There was great rejoicing when political prisoners were set free and restrictions on civil liberty were removed; but there was still, at the Centre, a government responsible not to the people of India but to the British Parliament.

III

Then came the Second World War in 1939. Without consulting any of the representatives of the Indian people, the Viceroy declared that India was at war with Germany and Italy. The Indian people were indignant, but the Congress leaders did not act hastily. They asked the British Government to state clearly what was the aim of the war, and what would be India's position during and after it. 'If Great Britain fights for the maintenance and extension of democracy, she

must necessarily end imperialism in her own possessions....A free democratic India will gladly associate herself with other free nations for mutual defence against aggression and for economic co-operation.'

Since they got no satisfactory answer, all the Congress governments resigned.

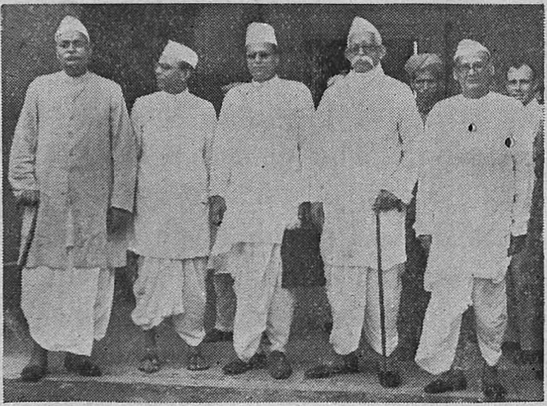
There came a time when the British were hard pressed, and the Japanese were on the very borders of India. The British War Cabinet sent Sir Stafford Cripps to India to ask the Congress for help. If the Indian people had then been allowed to form their own national government and to organize their own defence force, the Congress would have

Courtesy: P. I. B.

SIR STAFFORD CRIPPS CONFERRING WITH INDIAN LEADERS

roused them to fight on Britain's side. But the British Government, afraid to part with its power over India, refused this.

On 8th August, 1942, the All-India Congress Committee met at Bombay and passed Gandhiji's resolution demanding that the British should 'quit India'. Within a few hours, Gandhiji and all of them were under arrest. And now, with no leaders to direct or control it, a great spontaneous wave of revolt swept over India. It was fiercely suppressed. The police and the military fired on unarmed crowds and even machine-gunned them from the air, but nothing could quell the movement altogether.



Courtesy: P. I. B.

MEETING OF CONGRESS LEADERS

The war came to an end. In 1945 the Congress leaders were released; in 1946 there were fresh elections, and again the Congress was returned in eight Provinces, with absolute majorities.

Meanwhile in Britain a Labour Government had come to power, which was ready to consent to

India's demand for freedom. The Prime Minister, Mr. Attlee, said that he hoped the Indian people would decide to remain within the Commonwealth, but if they chose otherwise they had the right to leave it. On 23rd March, 1946, a Cabinet Mission arrived in India with Sir Stafford Cripps at its head, to draw up a plan for handing over authority, and this Mission worked hard for three months and a half, negotiating with the leaders of different groups.

Although the Congress had led the struggle, there were others who claimed to be considered. The Muslim League declared that nothing short of an independent State of Pakistan would satisfy the Indian Muslims. The Cabinet Mission at first did not believe that this was necessary. On 16th May it proposed a plan for a Union of the Provinces and the States, with a central government controlling foreign affairs, defence and communications. It recommended that a Constituent Assembly, elected by the Indian members of all the Provincial Legislative Assemblies, should meet to draw up a constitution.

The plan also proposed that an interim government should take over at once, made up of six Congressmen, five Muslim Leaguers, and three representatives of other communities. The Congress agreed to this, but the Muslim League refused, so the interim government was formed on 2nd Septem-

ber with Jawaharlal Nehru as its leader and non-party Muslims to take the place of the Muslim Leaguers. After this the Muslim League decided to join in; but they still refused to take part in the Legislative Assembly.

CLEMENT ATTLEE

On 28th February, 1947, Mr. Attlee declared (1) that in the absence of Muslim League members the Constituent Assembly was not working in the way that had been intended, (2) that His Majesty's Government definitely intended to transfer power into responsible Indian hands by June, 1948, at the latest, and (3) that if all the major communities had not agreed to a constitution by that time, the British Government would consider to whom it should hand over power. He also announced that the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, would be replaced by Lord Mountbatten.

Lord Mountbatten became Viceroy and Gover-

Courtesy: *P. I. B.*

MAHATMA GANDHI WITH LORD AND LADY MOUNTBATTEN

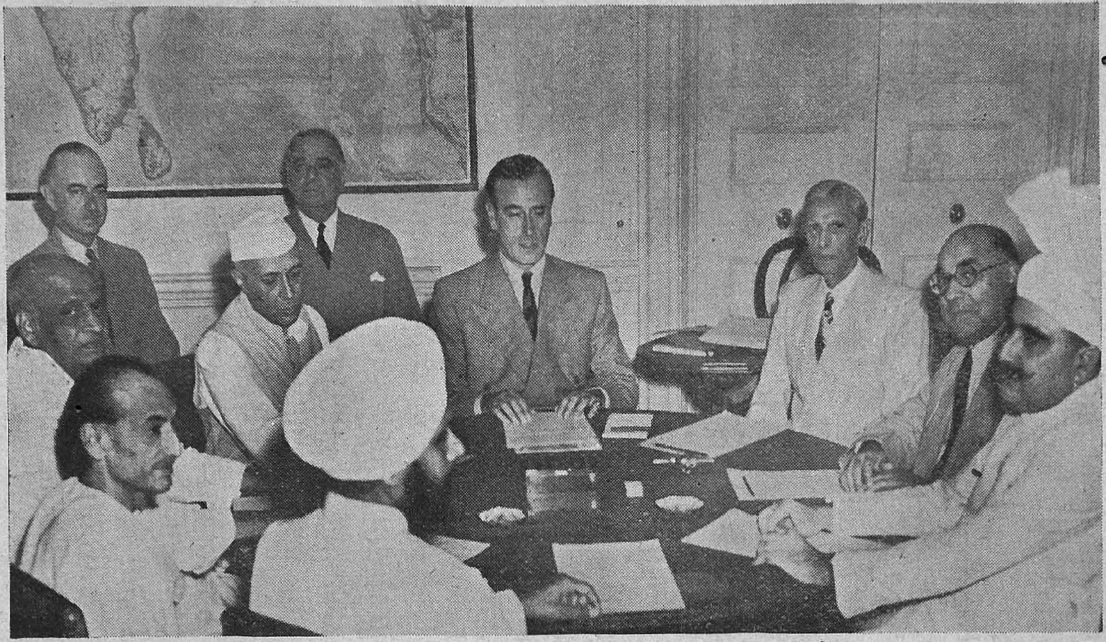
nor-General on 24th March, 1947, and plunged at once into negotiations with party leaders. The outcome was:

(1) His Majesty's Government's statement of 3rd June, which announced that power would be transferred earlier than June 1948;

(2) the Indian Independence Act, which provided for the setting up of a Dominion of India and a Dominion of Pakistan on 15th August, 1947; and

(3) the execution of the business of partition in six weeks.

On 14th and 15th June, 1947, the All-India Congress Committee met in New Delhi and took a



MEMBERS OF THE INTERIM CABINET

final decision to accept the creation of the independent State of Pakistan. So, in July 1947, the British Parliament passed the Indian Independence Bill by which all British control over India ended on 15th August, 1947. On that date the country was divided into two independent Dominions of India and Pakistan. The transfer of power was celebrated with great rejoicings throughout both the new Dominions. Lord Mountbatten was appointed the first Governor-General of Free India, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru became the first Prime Minister.

This was the great achievement of the Indian National Congress—to organize and lead the fight for independence. Beginning in 1885 with seventy-two members who hardly dreamed of its great future, it gradually took courage to assert India's right to national independence. As it did so, it won the support of more and more of the people, until on the eve of victory it had nearly the whole nation behind it.

It was the people of India who won their own freedom. The Congress leaders could not have done it if they had not the support of the masses, and the masses would never have learnt to trust them if both alike had not been inspired by the vision and leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. He is the true architect of Indian freedom.

If any people in the modern world have proved

that they possess the will to be free, it is the people of India. Over and over again, thousands of them have sacrificed their careers, their liberty, sometimes even their lives to deliver their country from foreign rule; they have fought without weapons and without reward, and lived and died without fame. We cannot put them on a roll of honour, for we do not even know their names. We can honour them only by showing ourselves worthy of their sacrifice. They have given us our country; we of the next generation have to maintain it, and make it prosperous and happy and a blessing to mankind. For independence, which is won by sacrifice, can only be guarded and made fruitful by hard work.

Pandit Nehru, in a broadcast message to the nation on 15th August, 1947, said:

'The Appointed Day has come—the day appointed by destiny, and India stands forth again after long slumber and struggle, awake, vital, free and independent.....

'It is a fateful moment for us in India, for all Asia and for the world. A new star rises, the star of freedom in the East, a new hope comes into being, a vision long cherished materializes. May the star never set and that hope never be betrayed!

'We rejoice in that freedom, even though clouds surround us, and many of our people are sorrow-stricken and difficult problems encompass us. But freedom brings responsibilities and burdens and we

have to face them in the spirit of a free and disciplined people......

'The future beckons to us. Whither do we go and what shall be our endeavour? To bring freedom and opportunity to the common man, to the peasants and workers of India; to fight and end poverty and ignorance and disease; to build up a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation, and to create social, economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fullness of life to every man and woman.....

'To the nations and peoples of the world we send greetings and pledge ourselves to co-operate with them in furthering peace, freedom and democracy. And to India, our much-loved Motherland, the ancient, the eternal and the ever-new, we pay our reverent homage and we bind ourselves afresh to her service—*Jai Hind.*'

QUESTIONS

1. By whom was the Congress founded?
2. What was the aim of the Congress in the beginning?
3. Who was Lokamanya?
4. Who was Gopal Krishna Gokhale?
5. What did the Extremists want?
6. What did Tilak say about Home Rule?
7. What was Gandhiji's teaching?
8. What is the principle of *satyagraha*?
9. Why were the Rowlatt Bills opposed by Indians?

10. What did non-co-operation mean?
11. What was the significance of the breaking of the Salt Law by Gandhiji?
12. What was the result of the Civil Disobedience Campaign started by Gandhiji?
13. Was the Round Table Conference a success?
14. Why did India not co-operate with the British Government in the Second World War?
15. What was the Cabinet Mission's plan for India?
16. What did Mr. Attlee declare on 28th February, 1947?
17. What was the greatest achievement of the Indian National Congress?
18. What did Pandit Nehru say in a broadcast message to the Nation on 15th August, 1947?

NOTES

masses : the lower classes of people.

constitutional : authorized by law.

grinding : oppressive, cruel.

extremists : those who go furthest in their aims and methods.

moderates : those possessing moderate views.

dominion : territory of sovereign or government.

fostering : promoting growth of.

consistently : always adhering to the same principles.

massacre : slaughter on a large scale.

martial law : military government, by which ordinary law is suspended.

savagery : brutality and cruelty.

censured : blamed ; disapproved of the conduct of.

reckoned : considered.

disciplined : trained to obedience and order.

split : division.

retired into the background : took no active part in politics.

campaign : organized movement.

defiance : open disobedience.

immaterial : of no importance.

breach : breaking.

obnoxious : offensive, hateful.

picket : stand outside to dissuade people from buying.

suppress : put down.

mutual : actions done by each towards the other.

aggression : attack.

spontaneous : free and natural; not organized by anyone.

negotiating : trying to come to some arrangement.

interim : temporary; provisional.

execution : carrying out.

partition : division into parts.

architect : the maker of the plans for a building.

slumber : sleep.

vital : full of life.

materializes : comes into existence.

encompass : surround.

beckons : summons; invites us on.

BUILDING A NATION

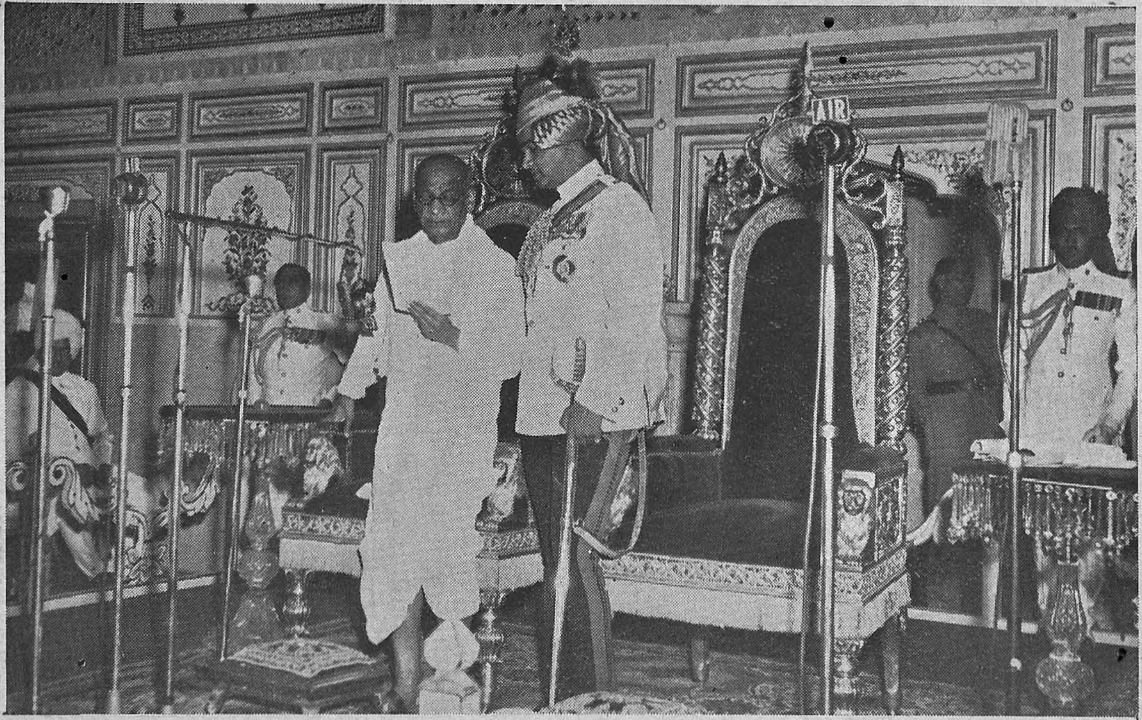
From the very beginning, independent India has had huge problems to deal with. The first and most urgent was the problem of the refugees. It was a great thing that the two separate states of India and Pakistan should have been created by entirely peaceful means, but it would be untrue to say that the change was not marked by violence or bloodshed. In both countries there were people who felt bitter against each other, Hindus and Muslims who attacked each other savagely. Thousands of refugees came streaming over the border from Pakistan, in terror of their lives; many of them had left all their property behind them; children and parents, husbands and wives, sometimes lost each other on the way and arrived destitute and friendless; and in just the same way, Muslim refugees were streaming into Pakistan from India. The Government of India had to try to protect its Muslim citizens and to provide food, clothing, shelter and medical aid for the homeless people who were coming in. This had to be done all in a moment so to speak, before the government itself was properly organized. Relief camps were got ready at once; in all, nearly 182,000 tents were set up to shelter

homeless people. Others were lodged in houses from which Muslims had gone away, others in religious and charitable institutions, and the luckier ones stayed with relatives who already had their homes in India. All of them had to be fed and clothed, nearly all needed help to recover from the terrors and hardships of the journey. And after this immediate crisis was over, there remained the long and difficult task of helping them to make permanent homes in India, and to find work by which they could earn a living and contribute to the welfare of their country.

To the governments of both countries, the outbreaks of violence responsible for this problem were a source of endless trouble and expense, at a time when all their resources were needed for the task of nation-building. To Mahatma Gandhi, who had shown to India and to the world that a good cause could triumph through truth and non-violence, they were a shame and grief to the whole country, a dark shadow on the joy of independence. He devoted the whole of the last year of his life to making peace between Hindus and Muslims. Hindus had been driven from a district of East Bengal, and many had been killed: Mahatma Gandhi went straight to the dangerous area on foot, and refused to leave it till he was certain that the two communities could again live there side by side in peace. Muslims were being stabbed in Calcutta:

Mahatma Gandhi promptly made his home in a poor Muslim neighbourhood, and stayed until his influence had quieted all the angry passions and restored a feeling of brotherhood. The making of peace mattered more to him than the making of the constitution. In fact, he not only lived for peace but died for it, for on 30th January, 1948, he was shot dead by a Hindu fanatic as he went to his evening prayers. How he was mourned by the nation and the world is told in another part of this book. But the work could not wait while a nation lamented: with sorrow in their hearts, and with a deep sense that in some way all of us all over the world shared the guilt of his death, statesmen and people had to go on laying the foundations of the new India without their great leader to guide and inspire them except by the memory of his teaching and example.

Another great problem was to arrange for the inclusion of the Princely States in the Indian Union. There were about 600 of them, some large, some very small, and they had been governed quite differently from the old Provinces of British India. In the end they were joined together in different Unions, the biggest of which is Greater Rajasthan, made up of fifteen Rajputana States with a population of thirteen million people. To do all this, and to settle the innumerable difficulties by common agreement, was a gigantic task. The man who



THE MERGER OF RAJASTHAN

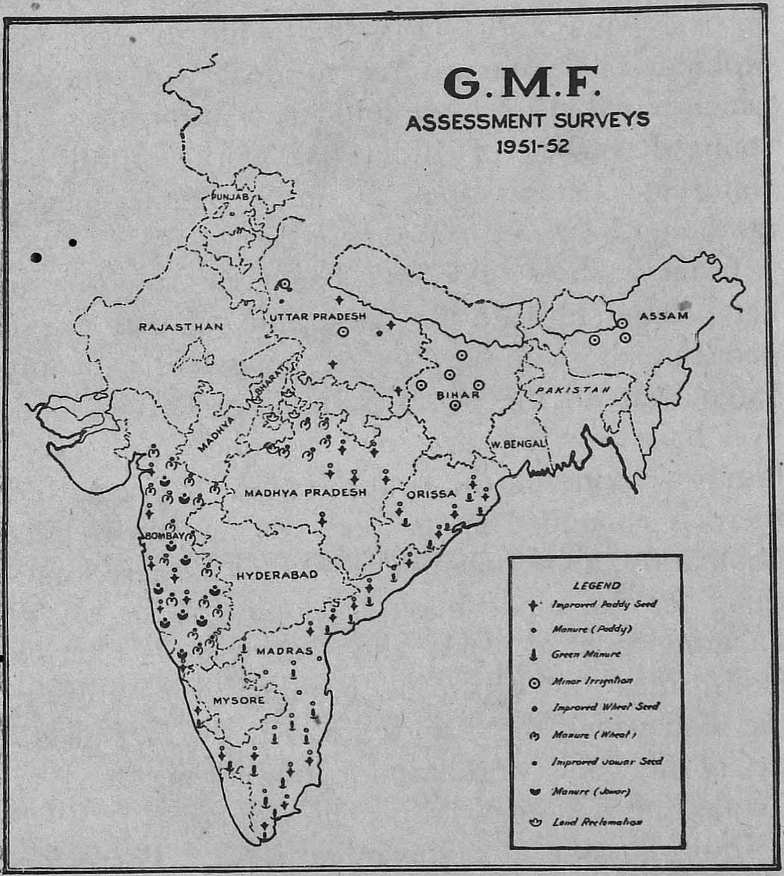
carried it through smoothly was Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel.

Our problems are not over yet. They will never be over while India lasts, for in life to settle one problem only sets us free to deal with another which may be still more difficult or inspiring. The young Republic of India has work for all her children. Let us look at some of the biggest tasks that have yet to be achieved.

India is short of food. The great majority of her people cultivate the land, and yet they are so poor that they can hardly feed themselves. Not only India, but all the world is running short of food. We have to improve our farming until every family working on the land has enough to eat, and there is enough over to feed the town-dwelling population, and enough beyond that to spare something for the other hungry peoples of the world. Farming is hard work, and some people have a foolish idea that it is a low occupation. Actually, the food which the farmer grows is the first necessity of the whole world, and a good farmer deserves thanks and honour from his fellow-men.

India is poor in many other ways. There are plenty of men and women to work, plenty of raw materials for them to use, but not nearly enough industries to make the country prosperous. We have to manufacture machinery and metal goods, paper, cloth, and all the thousands of things which

a civilized country needs. We have to set up factories, find sources of power to run them, build



Courtesy: P. I. B.

MAP OF GROW MORE FOOD

good roads for transport and bring water to dry parts of the country, so that there may be work

Courtesy: P. I. B.

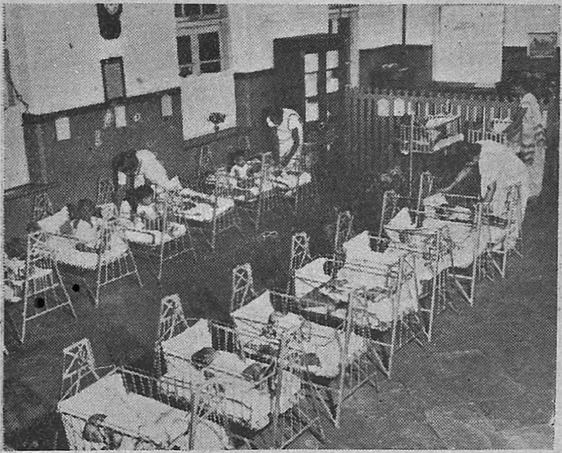
GROW MORE FOOD CAMPAIGN

for all, and as wealth increases everyone may have a share in it.

Far too many people in India are uneducated. Every citizen of the modern world needs not only to be able to read and write, but to use his mental powers to the full. He has a right to learn what a vast, ancient and interesting place this world is, and he has a right to get whatever training will enable him to do the best work that is in him. Knowledge is a blessing; we must see that it is not denied to any of our countrymen.

Do not imagine that it is only members of the armed forces and the public services who serve their

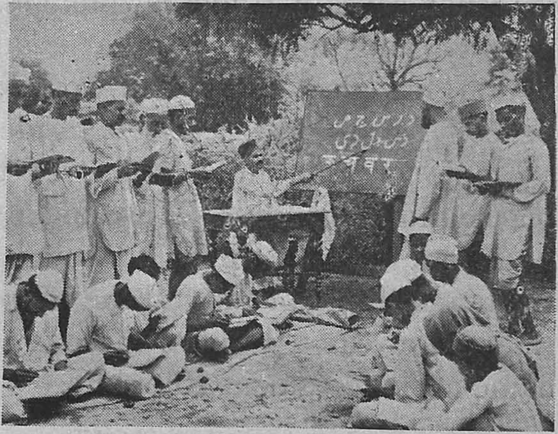
country. A good farmer, a good industrial worker, a good doctor or teacher, a good sweeper, a good tradesman, a mother who brings up her children well—every man and woman, in fact, who puts his best skill into a useful job, who does it honestly and cares more for the work than for the reward, is a citizen of whom his country should be proud.



Courtesy: Tata Industries, Ltd.

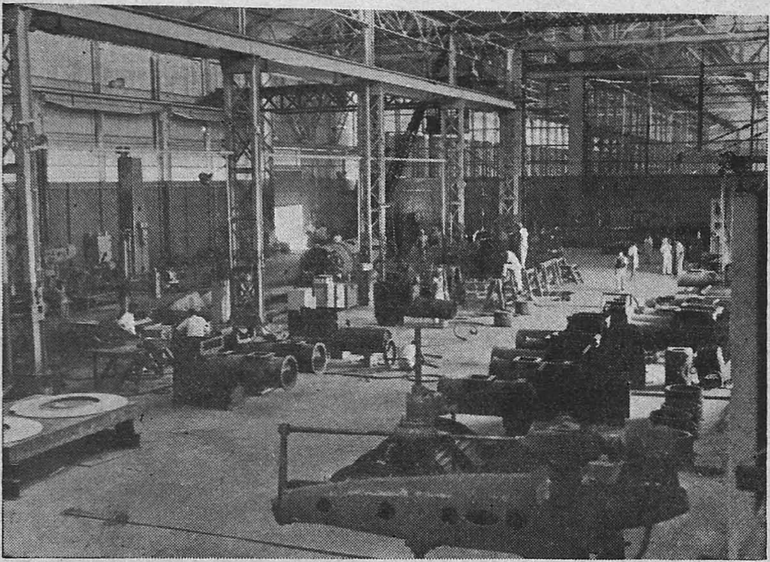
AMENITIES TO FAMILIES OF INDUSTRIAL WORKERS

Finally, the world today is near the edge of war, and war, no matter



Courtesy: P. I. B.

ADULT LITERACY CENTRE



Courtesy: Tata Industries, Ltd.

AN INDIAN INDUSTRIAL WORKSHOP

for what cause it is fought, plunges the world into poverty and misery. India, a new and great nation, has pledged itself to work for international peace. In this, as in every high ideal, we have the example of Gandhiji, Father of the Nation, to teach and inspire us. If we make peace our aim, and work unceasingly for it through the methods of truth and non-violence, all the peoples of the world may have reason to bless the day when India became an independent Republic.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the greatest problem that India had to face soon after becoming independent?

2. What was the great service rendered by Gandhiji during the outbreaks of violence?
3. What was the next great problem that India had to tackle to make ' one united India '?
4. What are the other problems before the young Republic of India?
5. What high ideal has India placed before herself?

NOTES

destitute : without possessions; having lost everything.

contribute to : help to bring about; do something for.

fanatic : someone almost maddened by religious or political zeal.

lamented : wept; grieved.

transport : carrying people, goods, etc., from one place to another.

pledged : made a solemn promise.

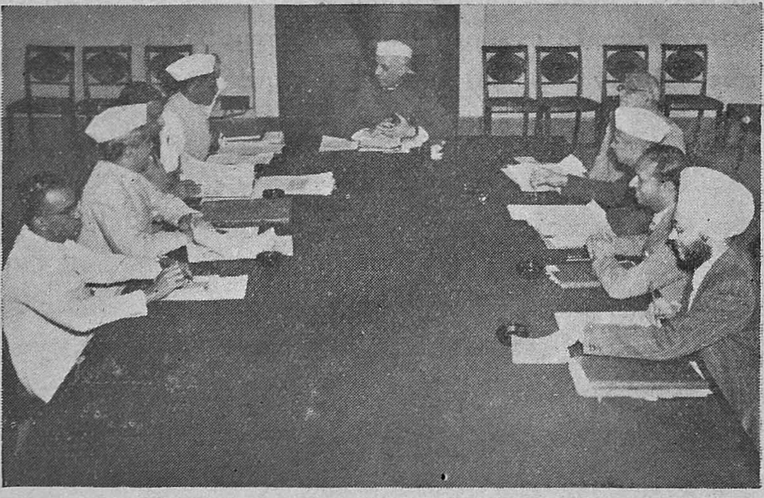
international : existing between different nations.

unceasingly : without stopping or growing weary.

NATIONAL HOUSEKEEPING

The Five Year Plan

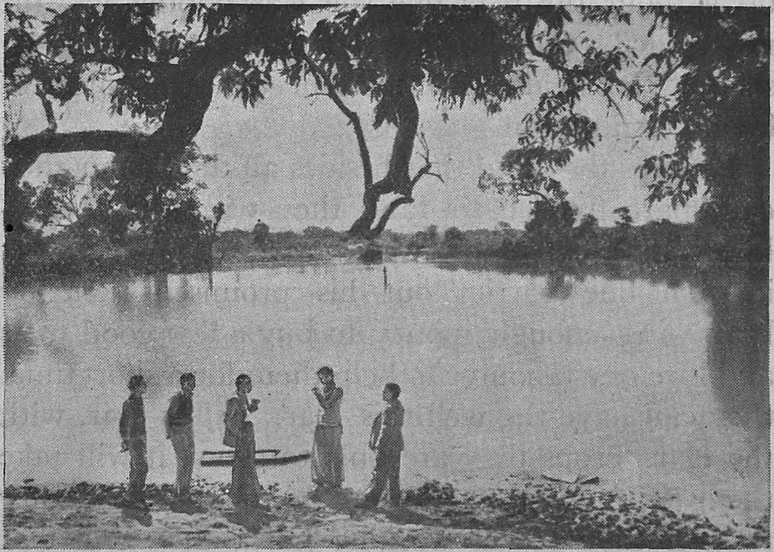
Think of a poor man and his family, keeping themselves on the crops they can raise from a field. The land is their own, but it is dry, and they have to work hard to get a bare living. If they had a well, the field would grow more grain with less trouble. They would have more to eat and more to sell, and with the extra money they might buy some fertilizers and make the land still better. With the time saved from carrying water long distances,



MEMBERS OF THE PLANNING COMMISSION

some of them might go in for weaving, or some other cottage industry; then they could not only clothe themselves better but could add a little to the family income. If only they had a well!

The man decides to have that well. But digging a well is hard work, and here is the problem: either he and his family must do it for themselves, or they must pay someone to do it for them. As it is, they are working hard to feed themselves; if they make the well, they must work harder still this year, and eat less, although next year they will begin to get the benefit of the water. If they pay for extra



Courtesy: P. I. B.

TANK BUILT BY VILLAGERS

labour, that means borrowing the money, as they have no capital of their own. Borrowed money has to be paid back, so that it will be a long time before they themselves will be better off by having the well.

The man calls a family council, and they talk it over. He tells them how much work will be needed to make the well, and each one says how much of it he thinks he can do. Then they consider how to cut down their needs this year, so that they may spend less time on the land, and more on the well. Can Ram get along with the same old pair of shoes? Can Sita mend her old *sari* again and do without the new one she was hoping for, till next year? Can the stronger ones eat a little less, so that the weaker members need not go short of food? And so on.

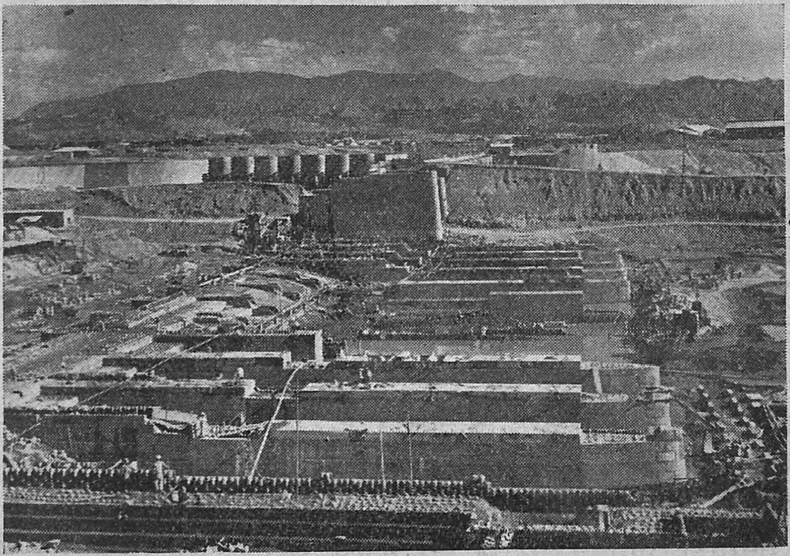
Perhaps they find that besides all the labour they can spare from their land they will still have to hire a little extra help with borrowed money. But if each one carries out his promises, then by borrowing enough money to buy a few good tools and hire one labourer to help them for a short time, they can have the well this year. After that, with the extra crops they are able to grow, it will take them six months to pay off the debt. And after that, if they go on working hard, they will find themselves a little better off at every successive harvest.

India's Five Year Plan is rather like that family council. The whole nation is a huge family, and the land is our inheritance: we have many mouths to be fed, but with each mouth there are hands for working and a brain for thinking, and each of us can use them for the common good. So long as we were not independent we could not plan our national life for ourselves. Now we are free to manage our own affairs. We want to use our land to the best advantage, to make it produce more wealth than it has ever produced before. At the same time we want to share out what we produce more evenly, so that the poorest people have a much larger share than before. In this way we shall all grow richer, and yet we shall come nearer to equality.

For this purpose it was necessary to make a kind of national housekeeping plan, and to calculate what ought to be done, and how each of us can help to do it. This is the meaning of the Five Year Plan. Of course, five years is not long enough for everything that has to be done. When we have carried out this one we shall have another plan for the next five years, and so on; and in about twenty-seven years, if things go well and if we put our brains and strength into the work, the whole country ought to be at least twice as rich as it is now.

In making a plan, the first thing is to know just

what we mean to do, and what resources we have for doing it. In the whole country, how much agricultural land is there and what grows on it? How much more food do we need for everyone to be strong and healthy? Where should we make new canals and tanks and wells for irrigation? Where do we need new roads and railways for our traffic? How big are our forests and how can we improve them? How much do we export, of such things as tea and tobacco? What are our mineral resources and what can we manufacture? And so on. All this the Government had to find out as



Courtesy P. I. B.

NANGAL DAM UNDER CONSTRUCTION

accurately as possible, by collecting information from every part of India.

Then, what about the human beings? How many of us are there, and what kind of work do we do? Too many, it appears, are unemployed or only half-employed; others are working hard, but their work is not very useful from the national point of view. Others again could do much better if they were better educated and had technical training for skilled jobs.

Thirdly, where is the money to come from? We want great dams and canal systems, and thousands of little wells too, to make the land produce more, and roads and railways to send food where it is needed. We want to set up factories to make cloth

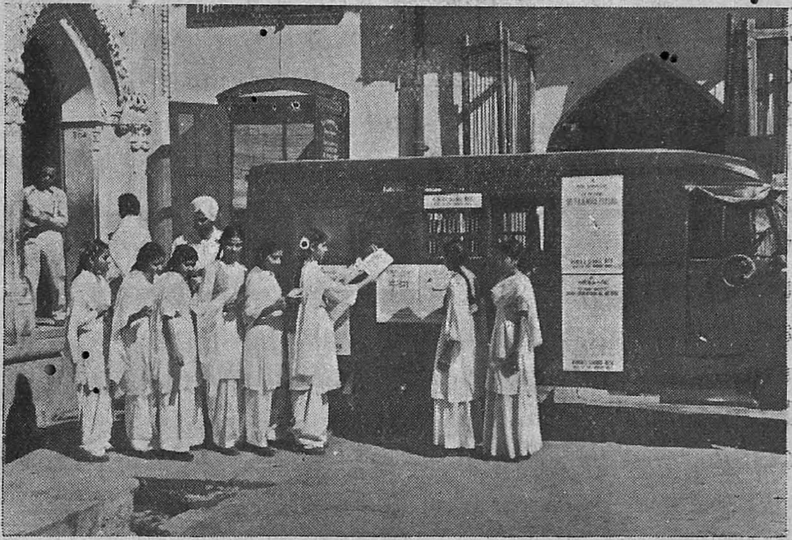
Courtesy: P. I. B.

THE D. V. C. PROJECT, MAITHON DAM

and bicycles and paper and hundreds of other things, some for ourselves and some for overseas trade. We want hospitals and dispensaries to look after our people's health, veterinary centres so that our animals may be well cared for, technical schools to make ourselves more efficient; and many other things. In the long run they will make us all richer, but while they are being got ready we must not only find the money to pay those who work at them, but also provide enough food and clothing for them to buy with their wages. Like the man who wanted a well, we must work hard and save all we can for the first few years, so that we may have a better life in times to come.

The Government will make us do some of this saving by taxation, and one question it has to settle is, who should pay taxes, and how much should each one pay? Most people hate paying taxes, as they hate having their teeth pulled out by the dentist. But after all, taxes are our contributions to the national housekeeping, to be spent in the interests of everybody. It is in the spirit of a family that the richer members should help the poorer, and that everyone who benefits from social services should contribute something, according to his means, to help in maintaining them.

Apart from taxes, however, each of us can help by saving our own money and investing it in the National Savings Fund, to be spent on constructive



Courtesy: P. I. B.

NATIONAL SAVINGS DRIVE

work. Whatever we save in this way will be paid back to us with a little interest as the country grows more prosperous. Further, those who still have money left over can invest it privately, in things like tea plantations or iron and steel works or cloth mills, which will add to the nation's wealth as well as bringing them a good return.

There are other things we can do to help, besides saving money. In some way or other, every one of us can join in the work itself in our spare time. Does your village need a road to connect it with the railway station? All the people in the village could join together and build that road for them-

selves. They will probably need a little help and advice from a skilled overseer, but most of the work can be done by willing hands, and even people who have never tried it will find that they can learn to handle a pick or a spade. Students from schools and colleges can spend part of their holidays in work camps, and learn to clear waste land, plant trees, or fight insect pests. People who can read and write can teach the illiterate; people who understand hygiene can set an example in helping to keep houses and streets clean, so that the general standard of education and health will go up rapidly.

Everyone is eager to share in the work, and many of us can think of special things which we ourselves would like to be doing. Not only the central government, but every State, every district, every tiny village may have suggestions to make, and may set itself a little plan of its own. Business men and farmers and students, panchayats, co-operative societies, women's committees and social education centres, all of them are asked to work together and to think of ways in which their work can be more useful to the nation as a whole. As you can well imagine, it is a difficult and tricky task to fit all their ideas and all their energies together, into a single plan, in which the most important things will be done first, and done thoroughly.

But remember that a national plan, however carefully put together, does not carry itself out of

Courtesy: P. I. B.

INAUGURATION OF COMMUNITY PROJECT BY SRI NEHRU

its own accord. We are a free democracy, and the success of the plan will depend on the will and the thoroughness with which each one of us works for the good of everybody. In the end, every village, every street of every town, and every school, ought to be able to say proudly:

'The Plan was ours. The work is ours. The fruits are ours.'

The fruits will not come all at once. Five years is a short time in the life of a nation, and at the end of that time perhaps not many of us will have much more food or many more luxuries than we have now. But if we put our hearts into it we shall lay the foundations of national prosperity, and we shall learn how to work for the common good. At the end of ten years, we shall begin to feel ourselves better off. At the end of twenty-five years, when most of the students who are now at school have families of their own, they will be living far better than their fathers did. Their country will be clean, healthy, well-educated and prosperous; they will

Courtesy: P. I. B.

KASTURBA NIKETAN, INDIA'S LARGEST COLONY FOR DISPLACED WOMEN AND CHILDREN

be proud to think that they have achieved this by their own efforts, and confident that their children will be able to do better still.

QUESTIONS

1. Why is planning necessary?
2. What is meant by the Five Year Plan?
3. What things are needed to make a national plan a success?
4. How is the money to be raised for planning?
5. How can voluntary labour help a national plan?
6. On what does the success of the plan depend?

NOTES

fertilizers : chemicals, etc., used for making soil fertile or productive.

successive : following year after year.

inheritance : which is inherited from one's ancestors.

resources : means of supplying wants.

accurately : exactly and carefully.

dams : barriers constructed to hold back water and raise its level in order to form a reservoir or to prevent flooding.

pests : troublesome or destructive insects.

illiterate : those who can neither read nor write.

of its own accord : of its own free will.

confident : fully hopeful.

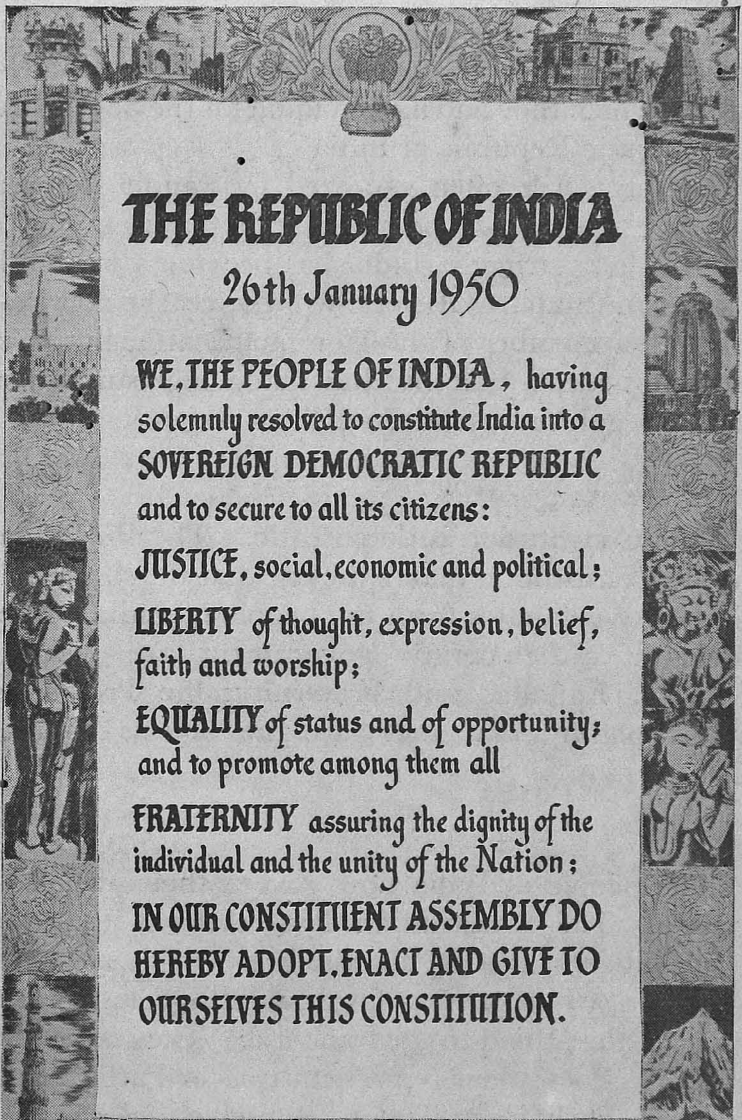
INDIA'S CHARTER OF FREEDOM

The Indian Republic

'Let us launch on this new enterprise of running our independent Republic with confidence, with truth and non-violence, and above all, with heart within and God above.' With these hope-inspiring words of the President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, still ringing in their ears, the members of the Constituent Assembly on the 26th of January, 1950, in the

Courtesy: P. I. B.

SARDAR PATEL ADDRESSING THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY



THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA

26th January 1950

WE, THE PEOPLE OF INDIA, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a **SOVEREIGN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC** and to secure to all its citizens:

JUSTICE, social, economic and political;

LIBERTY of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

EQUALITY of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all

FRATERNITY assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation;

IN OUR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY DO HEREBY ADOPT, ENACT AND GIVE TO OURSELVES THIS CONSTITUTION.

THE PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION

name of the people of India, enacted the Constitution which they had agreed upon for the Sovereign Democratic Republic of India.

In the words often repeated by Pandit Nehru: 'A free India can be nothing but a Republic'. After a long struggle, India has become a free and sovereign State. Of her own choice she has remained a member of the Commonwealth, but this does not mean that she has made any surrender of her legal and constitutional sovereignty.

Sovereignty of the People:

Our Constitution is democratic. The Preamble to the Constitution makes it clear that the sovereign authority emanates from the people of India. The ideals of a democratic government are Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity; the Preamble states plainly that these are the objects of the Constitution.

Government of the People:

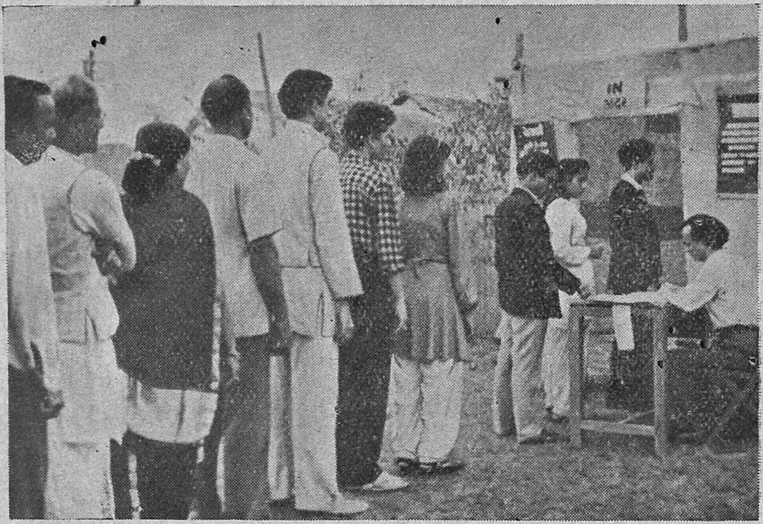
The people of India now govern their own Republic. The Constitution lays it down that all adult citizens, that is, all who are over twenty-one years old, whatever their birth, wealth, colour, race or sex, are entitled to the franchise. They have the right to choose their representatives for Parliament, to sit in Parliament if they themselves are chosen, and to hold office. By this single declaration the

Constitution has given full political rights to about 180 million people.

The President of the Republic is an elected President. In all recorded history, there has never been an elected Head of a State which covered so great a part of the sub-continent of India or included so many of its people. For the first time, the humblest citizen of India may become the President of the Indian Republic, which is one of the biggest states in the world today, always supposing that in the judgment of his fellow-citizens he is worthy of the honour. Nobody, however rich or talented, may hold that high office unless the people of India appoint him to it.

Secular State:

India is a secular State. ' In spite of the existence of various communities in India, the Constitution is opposed to communal polity and contemplates a secular State for India. A single common citizenship will be assured to all, irrespective of religion, caste, colour, creed or sex. The services rendered by the State will thus be distributed equally among all its citizens. Every citizen of India will be free to practise the religion of his or her choice. The government will scrupulously refrain from discrimination on religious grounds or from patronizing or propagating any particular faith. The ideal is based on the theory that a



Courtesy: P. I. B.

AT THE POLLING BOOTH

secular State deals only with the relations between man and man and not between man and God. The State will regulate the individual's behaviour only in relation to other human beings.'

As citizens of India, it is therefore our duty always to treat people of other religions as our equals. We may be Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists or believers in any other religion or in none. As citizens we all have to obey the same laws and live as members of one society. Our religion gives us no special privileges, nor has anyone the right to penalize us for holding it. We can all live together happily, provided that each of us respects the beliefs

of others as much as he wishes them to respect his own.

Fundamental Rights:

The Indian Constitution defines the rights of the people of India more elaborately than any State has ever defined the rights of its people before. 'Rights are the groundwork of the State. They are essential for the good life.' You must not allow your rights to be taken from you, and you must never in any circumstances try to rob others of them. They belong to us all in order that we may make the best use of them for our own well-being and for the service of humanity.

The rights defined in the Indian Constitution are those which belong to the democratic ideal of life. Unless everybody enjoys them, we cannot lay the foundations of a society in which each person can be his best self. The fundamental rights come under the following headings:

(1) The Right to Equality.
(2) The Right to Freedom.
(3) The Right not to be Exploited.
(4) The Right to Freedom of Religion.
(5) Cultural and Educational Rights.
(6) The Right to Hold Property.
(7) The Right to Constitutional Remedies.

Civic and social equality is the basis of our Constitution. In public employment there must be

equality of opportunity for all. For any public appointment no one is to be preferred or rejected on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex, or place of birth. The only exceptions are the 'backward classes', for whom some posts have been reserved in order that they may not suffer from the unfair treatment which they have received in the past. But we shall not fully realize the ideal of equality until we can truthfully say that there are no longer any backward classes in India.

Besides making this rule, the Constitution has taken another important step towards social equality by abolishing titles, which created artificial distinctions between people. Henceforth the only distinctions which will be permitted are military and academic honours, open to those who can fairly earn them.

Because India is a democracy, the people's rights also include freedom of speech and expression, freedom to assemble peacefully and without arms, freedom to move throughout the country, to reside and settle in any part of it, to acquire, hold and dispose of property, and to practise any profession or carry on any occupation, trade or business. These rights belong to all of us in our normal life. None of them can be suspended except in a serious emergency, when perhaps it may be necessary to pass special laws withholding one or other of them for a short time, to save the country from some grave danger.

Because they are part of our Constitution, no government can make general laws which take them away from any of the citizens of India. But, of course, it would be foolish to imagine that they give any of us the right to break the law. For instance, you have the right to freedom of expression; but if you libel other people or incite them to commit crimes, you will be justly punished. You have the right to carry on any business, whatever your caste may be; but that does not mean that you are allowed to go in for black-marketing or to sell short weight to your customers.

Abolition of Untouchability:

'The Constitution also puts the legal stamp on the great social revolution brought about by Mahatma Gandhi. It uplifts about fifty million untouchables of India from their age-old low social status. It lays down that untouchability is abolished and its practice in any form is forbidden. The enforcement of any disability arising out of untouchability shall be an offence punishable by law.' To many, this single clause outlawing untouchability is more precious than all the other rights of equality recognized by the Constitution. It puts an end to the most degrading of the social inequalities which have vitiated Hindu society for ages. Harijans will no longer be forbidden to enter

HARIJANS ENTERING HINDU TEMPLE

temples, schools, hotels, etc., or to draw water from wells. The new Constitution provides:

'No citizen shall, on grounds only of religion, race, caste, sex, place of birth, or any of them, be subject to any disability, liability, restriction or condition with regard to:

(*a*) access to shops, public restaurants, hotels, and places of public entertainment, or

(*b*) the use of wells, tanks, bathing ghats, roads and places of public resort maintained wholly or partly out of State funds or dedicated to the use of the general public.'

This is a great step taken towards social demo-

cracy, especially when we know that segregation on grounds of colour is still recognized even in some advanced countries of the world. But we have to remember that Constitutions do not work of their own accord; it is we ourselves who must put them into action. Untouchability is a very old habit, and old habits are hard to throw off even when we no longer think them good habits. All the time, in all our dealings with other people, each one of us must remember that people of other castes and other races are our equals, until we are so used to the idea that we act upon it naturally. So long as we treat any people in our own country as if they were our inferiors by birth, we have no right to feel indignant when people of other countries discriminate against Indians.

Equality of Opportunity:

India stands for a 'co-operative commonwealth'. Our aim is 'a peaceful but sure realization of.... a classless, co-operative, free and happy society'. The Constitution lays down that the State must try to secure for all its people:

(1) equality of opportunity;
(2) adequate means of livelihood;
(3) fair distribution of wealth;
(4) equal pay for equal work;
(5) protection of child and adult labour;
(6) the right to work;

(7) free and compulsory education for children up to the age of fourteen;

(8) public assistance in the event of unemployment, old age, sickness, disablement and other cases of undeserved want;

(9) the right to a living wage;

(10) conditions of work assuring a decent standard of life, full enjoyment of leisure, and social and cultural opportunities;

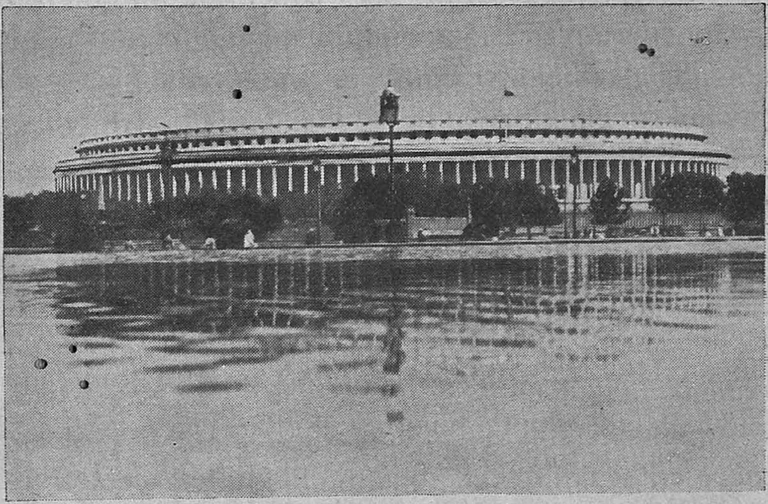
(11) the raising of the level of nutrition, the standard of living of the people, and the improvement of public health.

Here again, we must remember that it is we, the citizens of India, who have to see that these provisions of the Constitution are carried out. Whether we are private citizens or public servants, we must do all in our power by our personal conduct and our personal efforts to help our State to secure these good things for everyone.

Parliamentary Government:

India, which is also known as *Bharat*, is called in the Indian Constitution a Union of States. No State may secede from the Union. The country is 'an integral whole, its people a single people living under a single imperium, derived from a single source'.

The Constitution provides for a parliamentary government for the whole Union, as well as for each



THE HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT

separate State. The Central Legislature, which is called Parliament, consists of two Houses known as the House of the People and the Council of States. The President is also an integral part of Parliament. All bills passed by the two Houses must have his assent.

The House of the People:

The House of the People has a maximum strength of 500 members. Provision has been made for some seats to be reserved for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and the President may also nominate some members of the Anglo-Indian community. With these exceptions, every member is freely elected by the whole people voting in

regional constituencies. These constituencies are so arranged that each member of the House represents not less than 500,000 and not more than 750,000 citizens. The normal life of the House of the People is five years, and it must meet twice a year.

The Council of States:

This is a permanent body with a maximum strength of 250 members. One-third of them retire every second year. Of the whole number, twelve are nominated by the President from among artists, writers, scientists and social workers. The rest are representatives of the constituent States, elected indirectly—that is to say, not by the electorate as a whole, but by the State Legislatures.

The President:

The position of the President in a parliamentary government differs in an important way from that of the President of the United States of America. In the U.S.A. the President is the real executive authority and the ministers are only his agents. Under the Indian Constitution, however, 'the President occupies the same position as the Monarch under the British Constitution. He is the Head of the State but not of the executive. He represents the nation but does not rule the nation. His place in the administration is that of a ceremonial device on a seal by which the nation's decisions are made known'.

The President is elected indirectly, by an electoral college consisting of the elected members of the Central Legislature and of the Legislative Assemblies of the various States; but the votes are valued in such a way that the total votes of the members of the Central Legislature count for as much as those of the Legislative Assemblies of all the States together.

The President holds office for five years, but he may be re-elected. He may also be removed from office by impeachment for violating the Constitution.

There is also a Vice-President, who is *ex-officio* Chairman of the Council of States. In this way his office is like that of the Vice-President of the U.S.A. If the President dies or is removed, or if he is absent for any other reason, the Vice-

Courtesy: P. I. B.

DR. RADHAKRISHNAN

President will officiate for him. But unlike the Vice-President of the U.S.A. he does not automatically become President if the elected President resigns or dies.

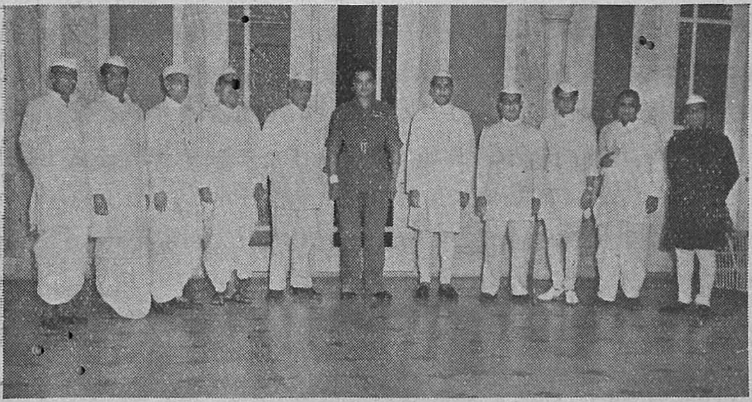
The Vice-President is elected at a joint meeting of both the Houses of Parliament. He can be removed from office by a resolution passed by the Council of States and agreed to by the House of the People.

The Executive:

The Constitution provides that a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at its head will aid and advise the President. The Prime Minister will be appointed by the President; the other Ministers will be appointed by the President on the advice of the Prime Minister. Thus the Prime Minister acts as a link between the Cabinet and the President, and informs the President of all the decisions of the Cabinet.

The States:

The States making up the Union are what used to be called the Governors' Provinces and Chief Commissioners' Provinces and the Indian States. Their governments are very like that of the Centre. Each State has either a Governor, appointed by the President for five years, or a Rajpramukh appointed according to the agreement between the States'



COUNCIL OF MINISTERS WITH RAJPRAMUKH OF RAJASTHAN

Union and the Government of India. The States, like the Centre, have a parliamentary system of government. Thus, the Governor or Rajpramukh acts on the advice of the Council of Ministers, and this Council is collectively responsible to the Lower House of the State Legislature.

The State Legislature:

In some States (Madras, Bombay, Uttar Pradesh, West Bengal, Punjab, Mysore and Bihar) the State Legislature consists of the Governor or the Rajpramukh, the Lower House or Legislative Assembly, and the Upper House or Legislative Council. In others there is no Upper House.

The Legislative Assembly:

In each State the Legislative Assembly consists of members elected by the adult citizens of that State.

The members must not be fewer than 60 or more than 500, and there must not be more than one member for each 75,000 of the population. Its normal term of office is five years. There is no reservation of seats except for the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes, but if necessary the Governor may also nominate representatives of the Anglo-Indian community.

Legislative Council:

Where there is a Legislative Council it is a permanent body; one-third of its members retire every second year. Its number must never be less than 40, and never more than one-fourth of the number of the Legislative Assembly of the same State. Half of its members are elected from local bodies, graduates of three years' standing or more, and teachers who have worked for at least three years in an educational institution ranking not lower than a secondary school. A third will be elected by the Legislative Assembly from among non-members of the Assembly. The rest will be nominated by the Governor from among men of eminence in art, literature, science or social service.

Supremacy of the Popular House:

Both at the Centre and in the States, the House which is elected by popular vote is supreme. Dr. Rajendra Prasad has said:

' So far as Parliament is concerned, if a difference

arises between the two Chambers, a joint session may be held; but the Constitution provides that the number of members of the Council of States shall not be more than 50 per cent of the members of the House of the People. Therefore, even in the case of a joint session, the supremacy of the House of the People is maintained, unless the majority in that very House is a small one, which will be just a case in which its supremacy should not prevail.

'In the case of the Provincial Legislatures, the decision of the Lower House prevails if it is taken a second time. The Upper Chamber therefore can only delay the passage of bills for a time, but cannot prevent it. The President or the Governor, as the case may be, will have to give his assent to any legislation, but that will be only on the advice of his Ministry, which is responsible ultimately to the popular House.

' Thus it is the will of the people, as expressed by their representatives in the popular Chamber, that will finally determine all matters. The second Chamber and the President or the Governor can only direct reconsideration and can only cause some delay; but if the popular Chamber is determined, it will have its way under the Constitution.'

The government, therefore, of the country as a whole, both in the Centre and in the Provinces, will rest on the will of the people. This will is the ' single source ' from which all authority is derived.

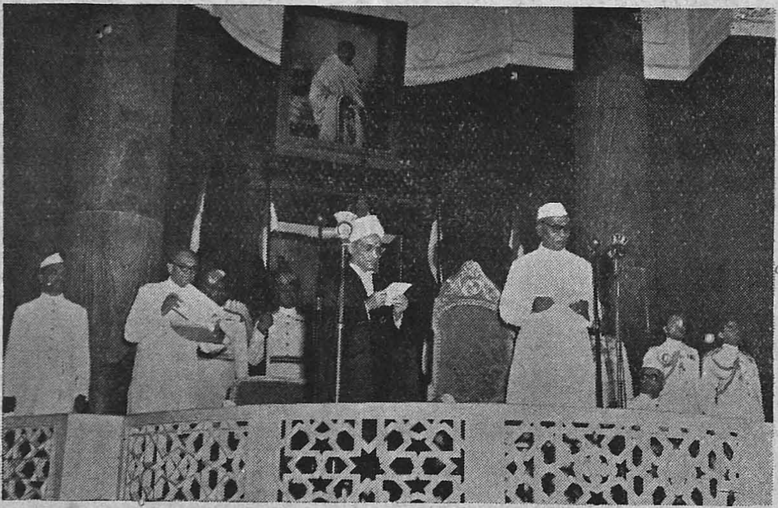
Adult Franchise:

It is for this reason that adult franchise is such an important part of our Constitution. It lays down that 'the election of the House of the People shall be on the basis of adult suffrage; that is to say, every citizen who is not less than twenty-one years of age and is not otherwise disqualified under this Constitution or under any Act of Parliament on the ground of non-residence, unsoundness of mind, crime or corrupt or illegal practice shall be entitled to be registered as a voter at such elections'. Every adult Indian has thus a share in the government, in the sense that he helps to choose the legislators. Rich or poor, male or female, literate or illiterate, each person has one vote, and each vote is equally important in deciding which candidates shall be returned to Parliament.

There are more than 340 million people in India, and about half of them are over twenty-one years old. It takes about 20,000 sheets of foolscap paper to print the names of all the electors. In order to return members both to the Central and to the State Parliaments, these voters have to be divided into more than four thousand constituencies. In each constituency, on polling day, there must be several polling stations so arranged that nobody needs to walk too far to record his vote, and in

each polling station there must be responsible officials who can be trusted to check the list of men and women entitled to vote there, to see that nobody votes twice over, and that nobody tampers with the ballot boxes between the time of voting and the time when the votes are counted. All this requires a tremendous amount of organizing. The country has a right to be proud that its first general election, early in 1952, was carried out in such good order, and that so many people recorded their votes.

But the mere size of the undertaking is not the most important thing about it. All this huge organization has one object—to enable each adult citizen to have a share in choosing the government of his country. We shall not have a truly representative government, unless each one uses his own judgment and votes for the candidate he himself thinks best. Every voter should think carefully about this before casting his vote. We have abolished communal electorates; that means that we now give our votes not to the candidate who will serve the interests of a particular community but to the one who we think will do the best work for the people as a whole. The ballot is secret: that means that we are not bound to tell anyone which candidate we have voted for, though we are free to tell all the world if we please. Each one of us is responsible for his own choice, and if we allow ourselves to be influenced by any kind of bribery, or



Courtesy: P. I. B.

DR. RAJENDRA PRASAD BEING SWORN IN AS PRESIDENT OF INDIA

by threats, or by anything except our honest opinion, we are doing harm to our country.

In the end a democracy gets the government it deserves. If the individual voters are stupid they will return unscrupulous men who take advantage of their stupidity. If they are ready to take bribes, they will return incompetent men who happen to be able to pay them for their votes. If they care only for their personal or communal interests they will return men who do not give a thought to the interests of the country as a whole. But if they themselves are sensible and honest and desire the common good, they will vote for men and women

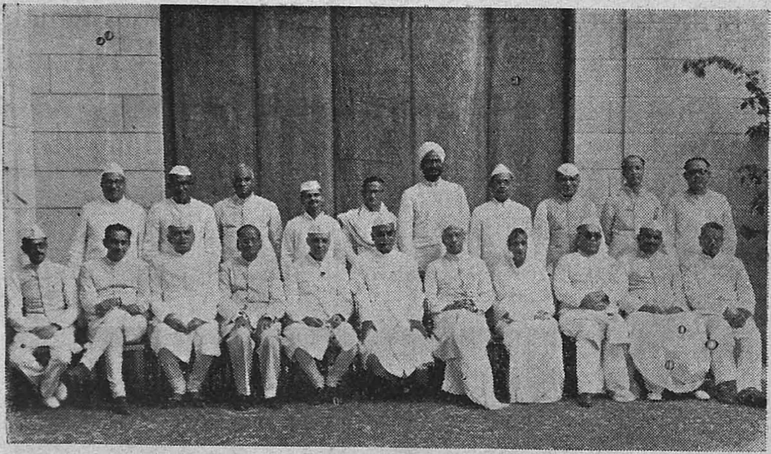
whom they can trust—candidates who do not offer to bribe them, or make irresponsible promises which can never be carried out, but who work hard and use good judgment, do not lend themselves to corruption, and serve their country rather than themselves.

After all, the Constitution is only a piece of machinery. Whether it works well or not depends on the quality of the people who work it. We need some very fine qualities in our members of Parliament—we need vision, and integrity, and strength of character, and the intelligence which can rise above narrow interests in the service of India and humanity. We cannot expect to get them unless we, who elect the members, value these things enough to cultivate them in ourselves.

Courtesy: P. I. B.

NEHRU BEING SWORN IN AS PRIME MINISTER

The people of India are fortunate above all other nations in having before them the great example of Mahatma Gandhi. Everyone from the humblest



Courtesy: P. I. B.

THE NEHRU CABINET

cultivator to the most learned scholar can learn from him how to live for truth and the love of humanity. He never cared for his personal interests or for power; power came to him only because he won every man's trust. No work was too low for him to do with his whole strength provided that it was in the service of humanity, no man who tried to live rightly was too poor to win his respect and love, and no power was great enough to make him afraid to speak and act as he thought right. If we try, to the best of our ability, to follow these ideals in our own lives, we shall set a high standard for our members of Parliament to live up to, and we and they together shall make of our beloved coun-

try the greatest democracy in all history. The Constitution is our instrument, but in the last analysis it is we ourselves who have to carry it out, for we are the democracy of India.

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* Most of the quotations given in this chapter have been taken from "Our Constitution" published by the Publications Division, Government of India.

QUESTIONS

1. What is meant by the sovereignty of the people?
2. What is meant by a secular State?
3. What are the fundamental rights guaranteed by our Constitution?
4. In what ways does the Constitution forbid the practice of untouchability in any shape or form?
5. How does the Constitution guarantee equality of opportunity to all its people?
6. What is meant by parliamentary government?
7. What is the position of the President in our country?
8. How does the Constitution emphasize the supremacy of the popular House?
9. In what ways is adult franchise an important part of our Constitution?
10. What is the duty of the voters?
11. What inspiration can we derive from the great example of Mahatma Gandhi?
12. How can we make democracy a success in our country?

NOTES

charter : a document by which a ruler or government grants certain rights.

launch : start; literally, set a ship afloat.
surrender : yielding; handing over.
preamble : introductory part of a legal document.
emanates : issues.
fraternity : feeling of brotherhood.
adult : grown up; mature.
franchise : right of voting at Parliamentary elections.
talented : gifted, skilful.
secular : not concerned with religion; lay.
polity : form of civil government.
creed : religious belief.
scrupulously : with special care.
discrimination : making an unfavourable distinction.
penalize : punish.
more elaborately : in greater detail.
fundamental : forming the foundation; basic.
exploited : used for someone else's advantage without any proper reward.
remedies : redress; means of securing one's rights.
abolishing : doing away with.
artificial : unnatural.
emergency : sudden crisis calling for swift action.
libel : defame ; damage anyone's character.
stamp : seal; mark.
enforcement : putting into force; compelling the observance of.
outlawing : making entirely unlawful.
vitiated : corrupted; had an evil influence on.
segregation : setting apart; separation.

indignant : angry; outraged.

adequate : sufficient.

secede : withdraw.

integral whole : complete, unbroken whole.

integral part : a part necessary to the completeness of the whole.

imperium : supreme authority.

assent : agreement; approval.

impeachment : accusation and prosecution usually for treason or abuse of power on the part of a high official.

ex-officio : by virtue of his office; because of the position he holds.

automatically : here means, in accordance with a fixed practice; as if by mechanical action.

polling : voting at elections.

ballot : act or method of giving a secret vote, usually by putting a marked paper in a special ballot box.

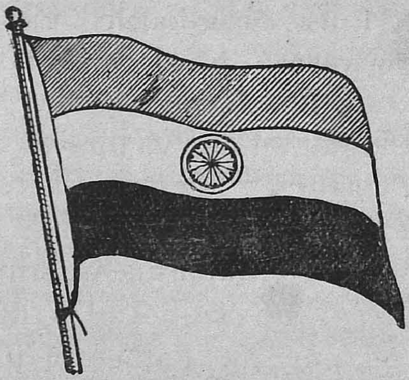
unscrupulous : ready to do anything, however wrong, to gain their own ends.

integrity : uprightness; honesty.

THE FLAG AND THE EMBLEM OF OUR REPUBLIC

THE flag of India is the symbol of her freedom. Behind it lies the epic story of her non-violent struggle for independence under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi.

The tricolour with the emblem of the *charkha* was the banner of freedom which had been held aloft by thousands of *Desh-sevaks* and *Desh-sevikas* since 1921 when Mahatma Gandhi first launched the non-co-operation movement in India. The colours on the flag were then red, white and green.



THE NATIONAL FLAG

1931 was a landmark in the history of the flag. A resolution was passed by the Congress adopting a tricolour flag as our National Emblem. The colours were changed to saffron, white and green. It was clearly stated that the colours had no communal significance and that they were to be interpreted thus:

Saffron for courage and sacrifice
White for truth and peace
Green for faith and chivalry

The flag also carried a *charkha* in blue on the white band. Henceforward the tricolour became our National Flag and the symbol of our determination to be free. As Shri K. M. Munshi has said:

'The flag of a nation is a proud symbol of its achievements and destiny. This tricolour was the cherished flag of the Congress. Under it we fought and suffered and won. We worshipped it in jail and out of jail. Little girls battled for it with burly European sergeants in the glorious days of *satyagraha*. Men died for it. It was the flag of our struggle then; it is the flag of our victory now. We could not change the colours. They are sacred for us.

'The flag was given to us by Mahatma Gandhi, it bore his favourite *charkha*, the symbol of Truth and Non-violence and of him, the Father of the Nation, who led us from darkness into light.'

A new India, free and independent, was born on 15th August, 1947, and on 22nd July, 1947, the Constituent Assembly adopted the Tricolour as free India's National Flag. The colours and their significance remain the same. The *Dharma Chakra* of Emperor Asoka was adopted instead of the *charkha*.

On 22nd July, 1947, Pandit Nehru moved the following resolution in the Constituent Assembly:

> 'Resolved that the National Flag of India shall be a horizontal tricolour of deep saffron (*kesari*), white and dark-green in equal proportions. In the centre of the white band, there shall be a wheel in navy-blue to represent the *Charkha*. The design of the wheel shall be that of the wheel (*chakra*) which appears on the abacus of the Sarnath Lion Capital of Asoka.
>
> The diameter of the wheel shall be approximate to the width of the white band.
>
> The ratio of the width to the length of the flag shall ordinarily be 2 : 3.'

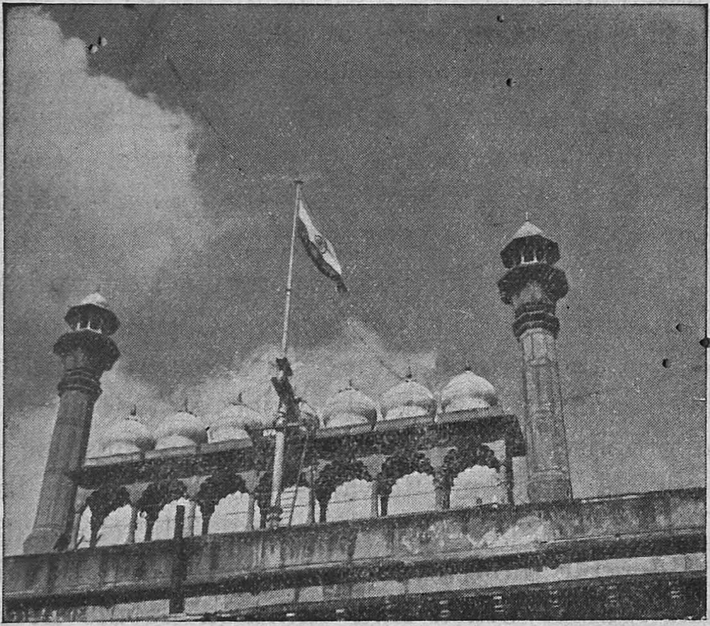
After moving this resolution Pandit Nehru explained the significance of the slight variations made in the Flag. He said:

'May I say a few words about this particular flag? It will be seen that there is a slight variation from the one many of us have used during these past years. The colours are the same—a deep saffron, a white and a dark green. In the white previously there was the *charkha* which symbolized the common men in India, which symbolized the masses of the people, which symbolized their industry and which came to us from the message which Mahatma Gandhi delivered. Now, this par-

ticular *charkha* symbol has been slightly varied in this flag, not taken away at all.

'Why then has this been varied? Normally speaking, the symbol on one side of the flag should be exactly the same as on the other side. Otherwise, there is a difficulty which goes against the rules. Now, the *charkha*, as it appeared previously on this flag, had the wheel on one side and the spindle on the other. If you see the other side of the flag, the spindle comes the other way and the wheel comes this way. If it does not do so, it is not proportionate, because the wheel must be towards the pole, not towards the end of the flag. There was this practical difficulty. Therefore, after considerable thought, we were convinced that this great symbol which had enthused people should continue, but that it should continue in a slightly different form, that the wheel should be there, not the rest of the *charkha*, i.e., the spindle and the string which created this confusion. The essential part of the *charkha* should be there, that is, the wheel.

'So, the old tradition continues in regard to the *charkha* and the wheel. But what type of wheel should we have? Our minds went back to many wheels which had appeared in many places and which all of us have seen, the one at the top of the Capital of the Asoka column and in many other places. That wheel is a symbol of India's ancient culture, it is a symbol of the many things that



NATIONAL FLAG FLUTTERING OVER THE LAHORE GATE, DELHI

India has stood for through the ages. So we thought that this *chakra* emblem should be there, and that wheel appears.'

In the words of Shri K. M. Munshi:

'The *chakra* on the new flag is not merely the symbol as we know it. It also is the wheel of the *Dharmachakra* of Asoka, the mighty saint-emperor who founded India in the dawn of Indian history. For, in Asoka's capital at Sarnath this *chakra* stands as the wheel of *Dharma*.

'This *Dharmachakra* is the symbol of India's un-

dying spirit—this wheel of law as Buddha preached and Asoka practised; of the Moral Order of the Universe for which Indian Culture stood and stands.'

The modern significance of the wheel is, of course, scientific advance. It reminds one of the great strides man has taken to conquer space and time with the invention of the engine, the motor car and the aeroplane. Altogether, taking the ancient Indian and modern associations surrounding the wheel, one cannot but praise those who conceived the brilliant idea of using it on the National Flag, combining the ancient idealism of India with all the modern realism of a scientific age.

The spokes of the wheel are in the form of a sun. For centuries without number the sun has been worshipped as the giver of health and life, light and harvests, and all the good things of existence. Even today science has taught us how valuable are certain rays of the sun for human, animal and plant life. As a symbol of life and light it also suggests freedom from disease and darkness. The sun enclosed by the wheel is a challenge, as it were, to us.

Perhaps there is no flag of any other country in the world that bears a more inspiring symbol than the flag of free India. But it is for our people to understand the significance of all this and prove worthy of it—to realize what the colours, saffron, white and green signify, what the wheel stands for

and what the sun represents. Let our deeds be characterized by that moral grandeur which our National Ensign signifies.

Dr. Radhakrishnan has given us a beautiful interpretation of the colours of our flag. *Bhagwa* or the orange colour denotes renunciation or disinterestedness. Our leaders, he has pointed out, must be indifferent to material gains, and dedicate themselves to the selfless service of the nation. The white in the centre is light, the path of truth to guide our conduct in this life. The green shows our relation to the soil, 'our relation to the plant life here on which all other life depends'.

The Asoka wheel in the centre of the white, according to Dr. Radhakrishnan, is the wheel of the Law of *Dharma*.

'Truth or *satya*, *dharma* or virtue, ought to be the controlling principles of all those who work under this flag. Again, the wheel denotes motion. There is death in stagnation. There is life in movement. India should no longer resist change, it must move and go forward. The wheel represents the dynamism of a peaceful change, and this deviation does not revolt against the original idea of having a spinning wheel in the National Flag.'

The Message of the Flag

What is the message of our flag? 'This flag,' Pandit Nehru said, while introducing the resolution

in the Constituent Assembly, 'is not a flag of Empire, a flag of imperialism, a flag of domination over anybody, but a flag of freedom not only for ourselves but a symbol of freedom to all people who may see it. Wherever it may go—and I hope it will go far—not only where Indians dwell as our ambassadors and ministers but across the far seas where it may be carried by Indian ships. Wherever it may go it will bring a message, I hope, of freedom to those people, a message of comradeship, a message that India wants to be friends with every country of the world and India wants to help any people who seek freedom.'

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

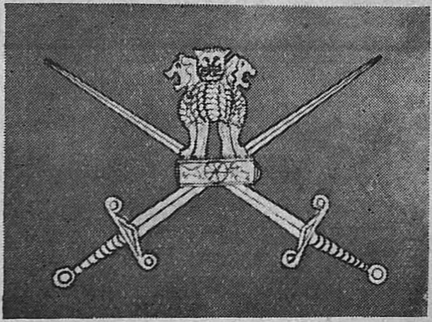
Mrs. Sarojini Naidu who followed Pandit Nehru said: 'Remember, under this flag, there is no prince and there is no peasant, there is no rich and there is no poor. There is no privilege; there is only duty and responsibility and sacrifice. Whether we be Hindus or Muslims,

Christians, Jains, Sikhs or Zoroastrians and others, our Mother India is one undivided heart and one indivisible spirit. Men and women of reborn India, rise and salute this flag! I bid you, rise and salute the flag!'

It was in keeping with India's glorious tradition of culture and civilization that this symbol of freedom was presented to the sovereign Constituent Assembly by Srimati Hansa Mehta on behalf of the women of India.

USE OF THE NATIONAL FLAG

The National Flag of a country must be given proper respect by both nationals and foreigners. The ceremonial relating to its hoisting, lowering, saluting or half-masting must be strictly adhered to by everyone. Certain courtesies due to a National Flag must be observed always.



Courtesy: Ministry of Defence

ARMY FLAG

The Ministry of Home Affairs has drawn up this code of etiquette for the use of the National Flag:

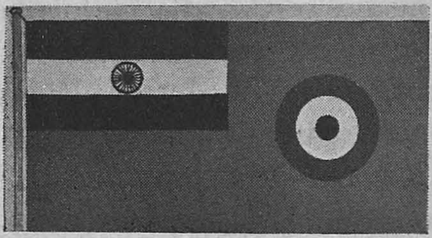
1. The National Flag should not be dipped to any person or any thing.

2. No other flag or emblem should be placed above or to the right of the National Flag.

3. The flag should not be carried flat or horizontally. It should always be carried aloft and free.

4. When carried in a procession, it must be in front of the procession, carried on the right shoulder of the standard-bearer.

5. At a meeting, the National Flag should be placed behind the speaker, high above his head; no other emblem should be placed above it.



Courtesy: Ministry of Defence

I. A. F. ENSIGN

6. When the National Flag is raised along with other ensigns it must be the first to go up and the last to come down. It must never be lowered in the presence of other flags.

7. There should be no lettering of any kind on the flag.

8. When the National Flag is used in connection with the unveiling ceremony of a statue or a monument, it should never be wrapped round the statue or monument to be unveiled.

Great care should be taken while hoisting the National Flag. The hoisting of the National Flag

is a solemn ceremony, for it is only on some special occasion or on a day of national importance that a flag is hoisted. On such an occasion usually some important person is invited. People attending the function stand respectfully round the flag with bowed heads, and while the National Anthem is played or sung, the flag-rope is pulled, and very solemnly and majestically the flag goes up.

On special occasions like Independence Day, Republic Day, Mahatma Gandhi's birthday, or on any other day of national rejoicing, the use of the flag is unrestricted. On such occasions people express their joy and patriotic feeling by displaying flags of varying sizes on their buildings.

In the event of the death of some important personage, the national mourning is expressed through the flag. On such occasions all the National Flags, including the Services Flags, are brought down to half-mast.

The Emblem of our Republic

The emblem of our Republic is a replica of the Lion Capital at Sarnath. The State Emblem is a symbol of India's ancient and unique culture.

The symbol shows the profile of the Lion Capital as it exists today. The crest of the emblem consists of the three lions leaning shoulder-to-shoulder against the pillar on an abacus which has in bas-relief the *Dharmachakra* in the centre, a bull on the

right and a horse on the left, and the outlines of the *Dharmachakra* on the extreme right and left. The bell-shaped lotus below the abacus in the sculptured Lion Pillar has been omitted.

LIONS OF SARNATH

The Sarnath Lion Pillar, which dates from the 1st century B.C., is associated with the name of Asoka—one of the greatest names not only in India's history but in world history. H. G. Wells has said: 'Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses and the like, the name of Asoka shines, and shines almost alone, a star.'

As Pandit Nehru has pointed out: 'The Asokan period in Indian history was essentially an international period. It was not a narrowly national period. It was a period when India's ambassadors went abroad to far countries and went abroad not in the way of an Empire and imperialism but as ambassadors of peace and culture and goodwill.'

The choice of the Sarnath Lion Capital as the crest of the emblem of our Republic has a great

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message for us. Majesty, valour, strength: these are the qualities associated with the king of the forest. Three lions leaning against the pillar of victory remind us that Indians must become the lion-hearted citizens of a free and sovereign Republic and must be ever ready to defend with dignity and without fear the freedom that India has triumphantly secured.

The *Dharmachakra* in the abacus of the Capital also embodies a great ideal. It represents the wheel of Law—the Law which is the King of kings, which even monarchs have to obey, and on which our Republic is founded.

The motto *Satyameva Jayate*—' Truth alone triumphs '—in Devanagari script, underneath the crest, places before us a high ideal to follow. It embodies a cardinal principle of Mahatma Gandhi, who never strayed from the path of Truth and Non-violence throughout India's struggle for independence. The motto on our National Seal will constantly remind us that nothing but Truth endures for ever, and exhort us always to follow the path of Truth, come what may.

QUESTIONS

1. What do the colours of the flag stand for?
2. What does Shri K. M. Munshi say about our National Flag?

3. What is the significance of the slight variations made in the flag?
4. What does the *chakra* on the flag stand for?
5. What does the sun enclosed by the wheel signify?
6. What interpretation does Dr. Radhakrishnan give of the colours of our flag?
7. What is the message of our flag?
8. What is the code of etiquette for the use of the National Flag?
9. What is the emblem of our Republic?
10. What is the significance of the lions on our seal?
11. What does the motto on the National Seal signify?

NOTES

symbol : sign

epic : like the great legends of ancient heroes.

emblem : symbol; a design or picture with a special meaning.

aloft : high.

chivalry : courage and all other knightly qualities.

burly : sturdy.

significance : meaning.

enthused : inspired.

Moral Order of the Universe : there is a moral law governing life in the Universe according to which good triumphs over evil in the long run.

abacus : square flat slab at the top of a pillar.

strides : steps.

renunciation : self-denial; giving up all ideas of personal gain.

dedicate : pledge, devote.

stagnation : inaction.

dynamism : driving power.

deviation : departure from a certain course.

domination : control or authority, backed by force.

comradeship : fellowship, friendliness.

code of etiquette : rules of proper conduct.

unveiling : ceremoniously exposing a statue, etc., to view by removing its covering.

unrestricted : free; not subject to any limitations.

half-mast: (of flag) lowered to half height in order to show respect to the dead.

replica: facsimile, exact copy.

unique : like no other; without equal.

profile : side view.

crest : upper part of a symbolical design, sometimes used separately as on a seal.

bas-relief : carving which stands only a little way out from its background.

sculptured: cut in stone.

their majesties......highnesses: titles assumed by kings, monarchs and emperors.

columns: pages.

ambassadors: ministers representing a state in another state.

valour : courage, especially in warfare.

embodies : expresses in words.

cardinal : fundamental; most important.

THE THREE PILLARS OF OUR FREEDOM

Our Army

No country, however strong and great it may be, can afford to neglect the development of its armed services in these dangerous times. The 'arms' and the 'wings' of a nation must be strong and alert, otherwise her freedom will be always in jeopardy. It has been truly said, 'The price of freedom is eternal vigilance', and the Army, the Navy and the Air Force have rightly been termed 'the watch-dogs of a country's freedom'.

Addressing the men of the armed services from All-India Radio, New Delhi, Pandit Nehru said: 'Soldiers of Free India, *Jai Hind*! . . . Ours is an ancient land with an ancient civilization dating back thousands of years. Our new-born freedom has brought us great responsibilities. If anything goes wrong, it will be our fault, we cannot blame others. If we do good, we reap the benefits; if we do evil, we suffer. Therefore, it behoves you, men of the Armed Forces especially, to realize these responsibilities. Your duty is to serve your country and your countrymen. . . . . . . .If you, men of the Navy, the Army and the Air Force, serve your countrymen without distinction of class or religion,

you will bring honour to yourselves and to your country. *Jai Hind!*'

Again, we have these words by Dr. Rajendra Prasad: 'Our army has won undying glory in distant lands for its bravery and great fighting qualities. Our soldiers, sailors and airmen have to realize that they now form a national army on whom devolves the duty not only of defending the freedom which we have won but also to help in a constructive way in building up a new life. There is no place in the Armed Forces of our country which is not open to our people, and what is more they are required to take the highest places as soon as they can so that they may take full charge of our defences.'

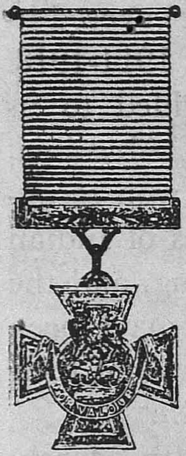
ON THE ARAKAN FRONT

The Indian Army has to its credit a very brilliant record of military skill and courage. It covered itself with glory during the World War of 1914-1918. During the Second World War it added to its laurels. Its splendid achievements in Abyssinia, Egypt, Tunisia, Italy and Burma have won recognition from the world. The adventures of Indian officers and soldiers have been so thrilling, and the risks and dangers they had to face daily have been so numerous and so great, that the stories of their heroic exploits read like the epics of old.

Lord Wavell, speaking in Delhi on 4th March, 1946, said: ' The Indian Forces have, indeed, won much honour in this war. It would take too much time to recount here all their exploits, to proclaim to you all their glory. The mere tale of battlefields and victories is a long one. I will mention only a few among many: Sidi Barrani; El Alamein; Tripoli in North Africa; Keren in Eritrea; Amba Alagi in Abyssinia; Monte Cassino and the Sangro River in Italy; Kohima and Imphal in Manipur; Mandalay and Rangoon in Burma. These are some of the names which you and your children and your children's children will remember down the years as the achievements of Indian prowess.'

The Indian Army lived up to its glorious traditions by earning in large numbers the various decorations awarded for gallantry. The highest award

for gallantry is the Victoria Cross. The Indian Army won 31 V.Cs. Of the 27 V.Cs. awarded for bravery in the fighting in Burma, 20 were won by members of the Indian Army.



VICTORIA CROSS

As General Sir Claude Auchinleck, the then Commander-in-Chief, India, said while addressing the Indian contingent of the Commonwealth Force of Occupation in Japan: 'The Indian Army did much to bring about the defeat of the Japanese, and all the world knows how well it fought in Assam and Burma. The Indian Army also helped greatly in the defeat of Germany by its bravery and skill in the hard fighting in Africa, Germany, Italy and Syria. Amongst you are units and officers and men who have fought in all these countries, and have made the name of the Indian Army famous.'

The partition of the country caused the division of the Indian Army also, which for generations had fought as a closely knit unit against common enemies on battlefields in many parts of the world, and whose soldiers had displayed the highest qualities of comradeship and self-sacrifice. Together they had guarded the honour, the frontiers and the out-posts of India. On 15th August, 1947, this golden chapter in the history of the Indian Armed Forces

SEPOY KAMAL RAM, V. C.

—one of the most magnificent fighting machines in the world—came suddenly to an end, when they were reconstituted into the Armed Forces of India and the Armed Forces of Pakistan.

The Indian Army had to stand a great strain in the process of partition, especially when we realize that the British Forces in India were also immediately withdrawn. The first contingent of the British Army left the shores of India on 7th August, 1947, and the last one, the Somerset Light Infantry, sailed on 28th February, 1948.

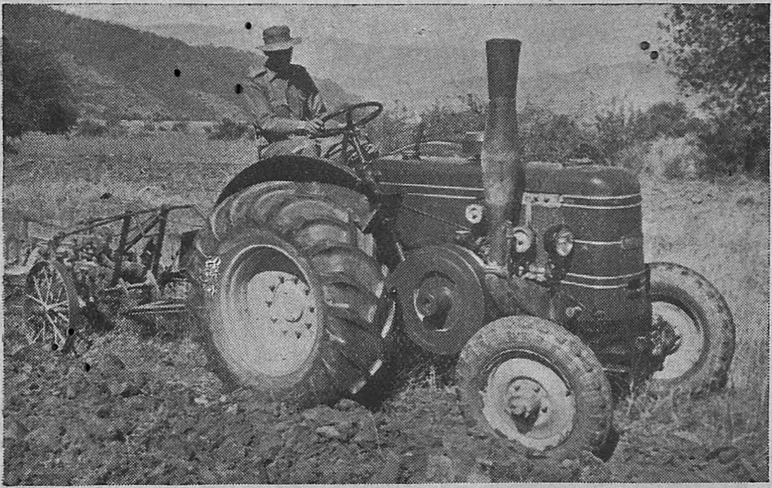
Immediately after partition the Indian Army underwent a severe trial. Before partition, the Indian

Armed Forces were largely officered by the British. There were 10,000 British officers in the Indian Army. Only half a dozen of the brigade commands were held by Indians and there was not a single Indian officer commanding a division. It was in such a disorganized state that the Indian Army found itself on 15th August, 1947; and it now had to shoulder the heavy responsibility for protecting and guarding nearly 2,350 miles of sea frontier and 2,600 miles of the Pakistan border in addition to the north-eastern frontier.

Since partition, the Indian Army has done splendid work in different spheres and has earned the gratitude, respect and admiration of the whole nation in the hour of peril.

It was not even a month old when it was called upon to establish law and order in several areas. Serious communal riots broke out in the East Punjab and Delhi, and for some time lawlessness prevailed there. The Indian Army stemmed and quelled the tide of communal frenzy that threatened to sweep over the whole country.

It had hardly finished this task when it was faced with another gigantic duty, that is, the evacuation of four million refugees from either side of the border. The achievements of the Military Evacuation Organization are a tribute to the Army's genius for organization and to its wonderful efficiency. The Indian Air Force also played an important part



Courtesy: Ministry of Defence

ARMY HELPING GROW MORE FOOD

in this great operation, by dropping food and supplies to stranded refugees and flying out others who could not be evacuated by road.

When engaged in constructive work such as earthquake relief, the grow-more-food campaign, and refugee evacuation, the army presented an inspiring spectacle. In the Punjab it found itself in a new role, tending the sick and old, providing food and shelter for the refugees, rescuing the Muslim women, and, in short, doing everything possible to put civilian life on a proper basis once more.

Hardly had the Indian Army completed its job in the Punjab when it was called upon to rush to the rescue of Jammu and Kashmir State, which had

Courtesy: Ministry of Defence

OUR TROOPS ON THE KASHMIR FRONT

been overrun by raiders from outside. It was now for the first time that the Indian officers were required to shoulder the responsibility of commanding and leading the troops in battle. The patriotism, zeal and fighting skill displayed by officers as well as soldiers in Kashmir evoked the unstinted praise and admiration of the nation.

Pandit Nehru in his broadcast talk on Kashmir from New Delhi, on 2nd November, 1947, said: 'I should like to express my high appreciation and the appreciation of my Government for the fine work which our staff have done, as well as the pilots and the air crews who have thrown themselves into

this adventure heart and soul. The air lines have co-operated with us fully, and to them also I am grateful. Our young men have shown how they can rise to the occasion in a moment of crisis to serve their country.'

Lastly, the wonderful bravery and patriotism displayed by Indian troops during the well-known police action in Hyderabad established the reputation of the Indian Army for discipline, organization, and smooth efficiency. Within five days the *Razakars* who with the help of the Nizam's police had terrorized the whole of Hyderabad, had looted property worth over a crore of rupees and destroyed a number of villages, had slaughtered innocent men and children and abducted helpless women and girls, were obliged to surrender. The Nizam's forces at first stoutly opposed the entry of Indian troops, but soon they were repulsed. Hyderabad was placed under the rule of an Indian Military Commander who soon restored law and order throughout the State.

Such is the glorious record of service of the Indian Army since independence. It has proved to be the proud custodian of India's hard-won freedom. Free India is rightly proud of her army, which has lived up to the high standards of efficiency and discipline, for which it has long been renowned.

The Government of India is fully alive to the

necessity and importance of building up a strong and efficient army so that it may be able to defend the country against any aggression. India's Armed

Courtesy: Ministry of Defence

MEN OF THE TERRITORIAL ARMY REPAIRING A TELEPHONE LINE

Forces are being strengthened and re-organized to bring them in line with the new status of the country.

A Territorial Army, a second-line defence force with a total strength of 130,000, is being organized by the Government on a zonal basis.

On 13th March, 1948, the Government announced its decision to raise a National Cadet Corps with a view to introducing military training amongst students in schools and colleges. The broad object of the Corps is defined as 'the development of character and comradeship, ideals of service and power of leadership and the stimulation of interest

Courtesy: Ministry of Defence

N. C. C. GIRLS RECEIVING TRAINING

in the country's defence'. It is hoped that the National Cadet Corps will soon grow into a first-class organization and serve as 'a nursery for the training of future officers of the Armed Forces'. The Corps will consist of three divisions: a Senior Division intended for the Universities and Colleges, with a strength of 32,540; a Junior Division for the boys of schools, with a strength of 135,000; and a Girls' Division.

The establishment of the National Cadet Corps and the Indian Territorial Army has fulfilled the desire of the civilian population for military training.

Your army is now your own, manned and officered by your own countrymen. You can become an officer and aspire to the highest positions in the army. You can join any of the following services: the Armoured Corps, the Artillery, the Engineers, the Signals, and the Infantry. The training, though hard and strenuous, is exciting enough. In all three Armed Forces physical training has an important place in the curriculum. Cadets are required to perform gymnastics. Physical fitness is essential to the mental alertness which every officer is required to show.

Courtesy: Ministry of Defence

GENERAL RAJENDRASINHJI

The personal qualities required in an officer are 'wiriness rather than big physique—excessive size may be a positive handicap—and more than anything else, self-reliance, initiative and a gift for the management of men'.

An Armed Force is what its officers make it. The tone and the discipline of an army depend mainly upon the quality of its officers. Hence, every care is being taken to choose only the best men available and then to give them the best training possible.

What are the duties and functions of an officer? What are the personal qualities expected of him?

An officer has to organize and maintain discipline among the men under his command. He must un-

Courtesy: Ministry of Defence

GENERAL CARIAPPA AT THE PASSING OUT PARADE

derstand their needs and difficulties as well as maintain their morale. He must be calm under difficulties and dangers, cool in judgment, quick in decision, and must instil enthusiasm and inspire zeal and vigour in his men. His behaviour should be such as to foster close understanding between him and his men. Intelligence coupled with balanced judgment, ability to make decisions quickly but not rashly, readiness to take on responsibility, a keen sense of fair play and unselfishness in the administration of his unit, are qualities that go to make an ideal officer.

You, too, can become an ideal officer, provided you always place before yourself the golden motto which is enshrined in the 'Hall of Wisdom' of the Indian Military Academy, Dehra Dun:

> 'The safety, honour and welfare of your country come first, always and every time.
>
> 'The honour welfare and comfort of the men you command come next.
>
> 'Your own ease, comfort and safety come last, always and every time.'

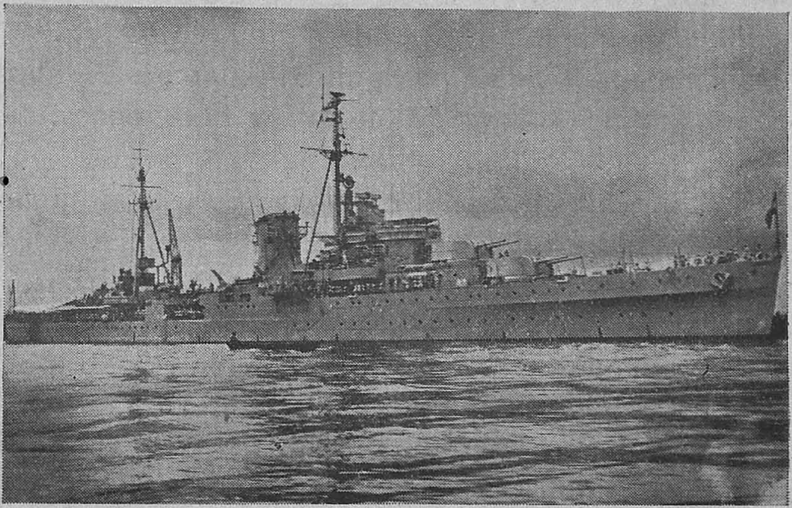
Our Navy

For more than twenty centuries till the rise and growth of the great European Powers, India remained the proud 'Mistress of the Eastern Seas'. Indian merchants travelled far and wide, cultivat-

ing trade relations with the then civilized world, extending from Japan to Rome.

Marco Polo, the famous Italian traveller of the Middle Ages, mentions that he saw Indian ships carrying ten small boats slung on the sides, like modern life-boats, with 60 cabins below the main deck for passengers with berths.

The Indian ships were the biggest and the stoutest in those days, and our navy then was very strong and powerful. The Imperial Navy of the Mauryas was a large and powerful navy which provided adequate protection to Indians on the high seas.



Courtesy: Ministry of Defence

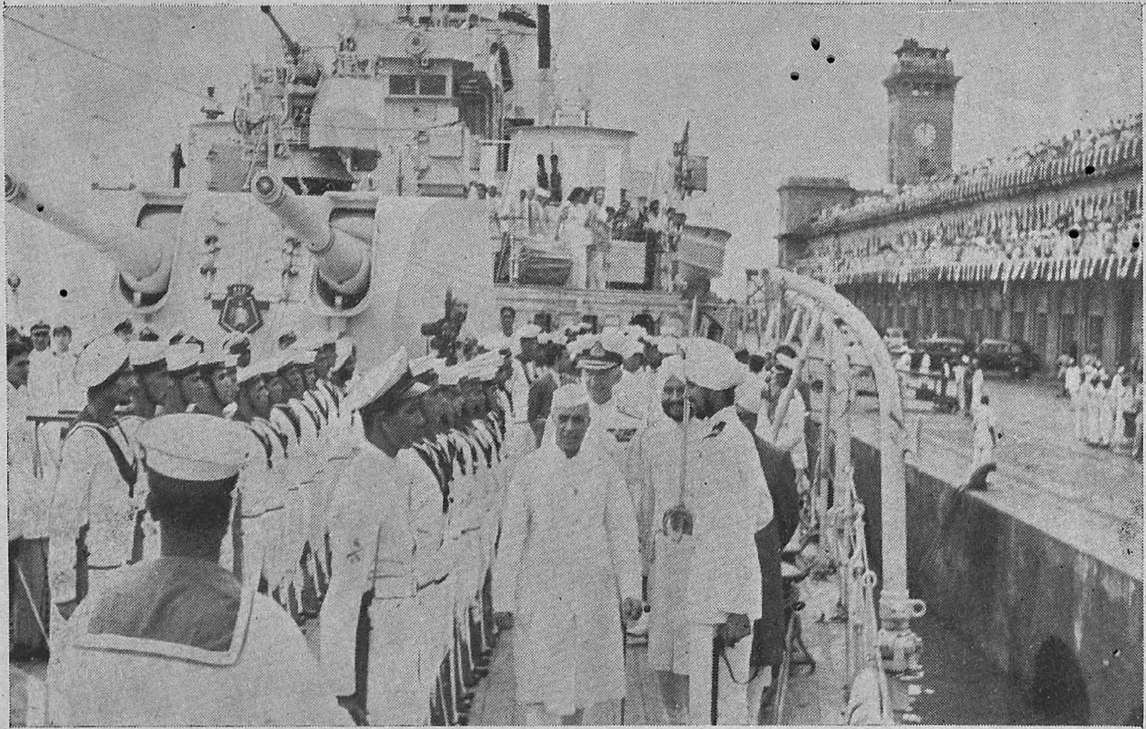
I. N. S. DELHI

Even after the fall of the Mauryan Empire the glory of the naval power of India was not dimmed. We find that the Satvahnas and the Cholas had mighty navies with which they were able to colonize the *Swarna Dwipa* and to build a mighty maritime State. This naval glory continued into the medieval period and later. Writing in 1811, a Frenchman, F. Baltazar Solvyans, remarked in his *Les Hindoues* that 'in ancient times the Indians excelled in the art of constructing vessels, and the present Hindus can in this respect still offer models to Europe'. Even the greatest naval powers of the western world did not hesitate to 'borrow from the Hindus many improvements.... to their own shipping'.

Thus even though the Indian Navy in its present form may only be of recent growth, it has behind it a glorious naval tradition dating back almost to 1000 B.C.

For a peninsular country like ours which has a 3,500-mile coastline, a strong navy is indispensable, for without it our mother country can never be safe from attack from the sea, and cannot guarantee a safe passage for her merchant ships going to distant countries.

The Indian Navy has lived up to the glorious traditions handed down to it from the rich past. During the Second World War Indian ships and sailors played a heroic part in the Battle of the



NEHRU ON I. N. S. DELHI

Atlantic, in the invasion of North Africa and Sicily, and in the campaigns in Eritrea and Somaliland.

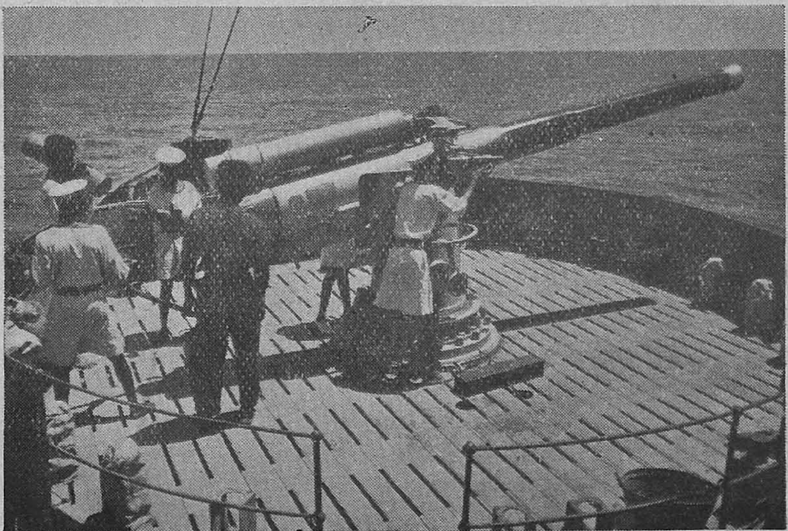
In 1942, they helped to drive the Japanese from the west coast of Burma and gained important successes against enemy aircraft in the Java Sea, the Arabian Sea and the Bay of Bengal.

LAUNCHING OF 'JALA USHA' AT VIZAGAPATAM

Since partition India has purchased from the United Kingdom the cruiser *Achilles* and renamed it *Delhi*, and three destroyers have been added to the Indian Navy.

Many vessels have been built in Indian ship-building yards. Recently the *Jala Usha*, the first ocean-going steamer made in India at Vizagapatam Shipyard, was launched by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru with these words: 'May this ship that we have launched today be the beginning of many other ships, big and small, and may they carry the message of India to all corners of the world!'

It was due to the efforts of the Scindia Company that the Training Ship *Dufferin* was established in



GUN PRACTICE

Bombay for the training of officers and engineers for the Indian Mercantile Marine.

The navy provides an interesting career to a young boy who is fond of travel and adventure, and loves an active, outdoor, open-air life on the sea. One of the best things about the navy is the opportunity it gives to young men to visit new places, in India and abroad.

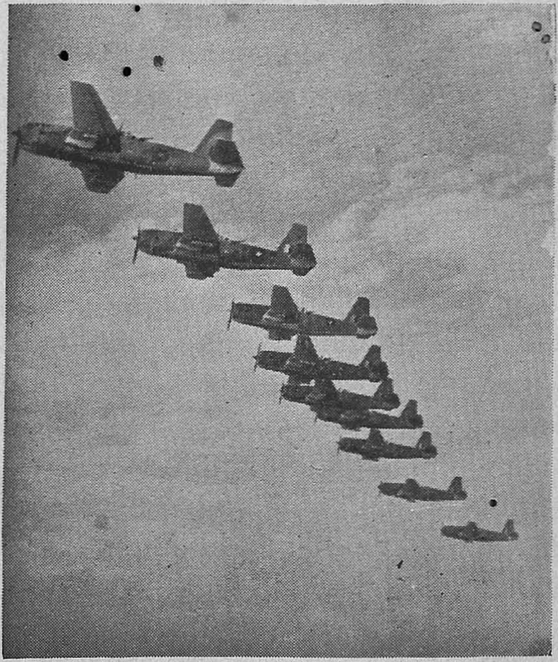
As in the army, so in the navy, discipline is of the utmost importance. Without strict discipline, no good training is possible. However big the ship may be, every one in her—navigators, seamen, gunners, wireless operators, telegraphists, engineers, carpenters, etc.—must live in the closest possible contact with others, in order to reach the perfect efficiency which is required at sea.

The vessels at sea are all the time exposed to hazards. Consequently, naval officers have to shoulder a much greater amount of responsibility than officers in the army.

The navy demands of its officers ' a high sense of responsibility and discipline, steadiness under trial, quickness of decision, and a willingness to live in close contact with their subordinates '.

Our Air Force

The Indian Air Force was born in April, 1933, when six Indian youths entered the R.A.F. College at Cranwell. Their names were Sirkar, Mukherjee,

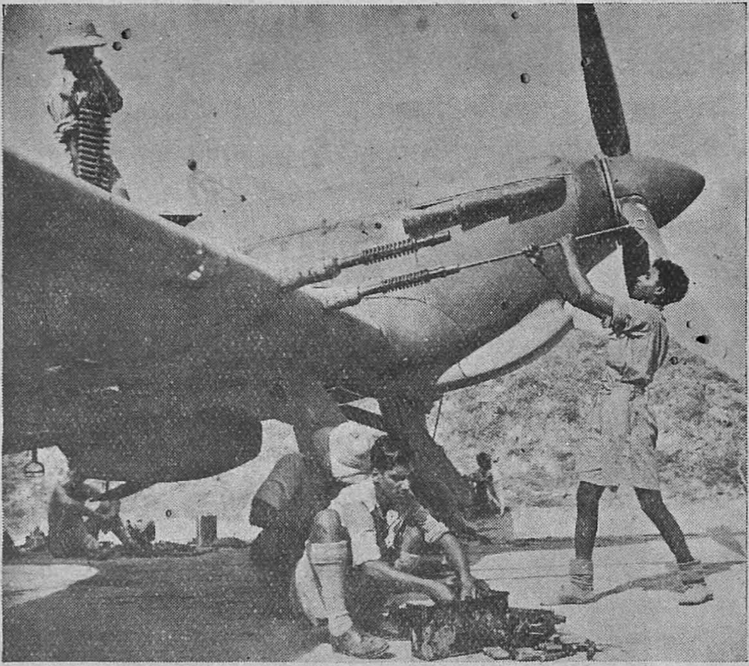


A SQUADRON OF BOMBERS

Upendra Singh, Amaresh Singh, Awan and Tandon. Little did they realize at that moment that they were laying the foundations of a service which was to play such a glorious part in the defence of India.

The Indian Air Force, the youngest of the country's fighting services, contained only two squadrons at the beginning of 1942. By the end of the war, there were ten squadrons.

Some of these squadrons fought against the enemy in Burma, and the Indian pilots proved second to



GROUND CREW CLEANING AND RELOADING THE CANNON

none. Operating on the Burma-Assam front, the squadrons distinguished themselves in the Kohima and Imphal areas. They did most valuable work by taking photographs of the enemy's positions, movements, hideouts and gun emplacements. All this was only made possible by the courage and skill of our pilots engaged in this most hazardous task.

Not only did the I.A.F. squadrons help to beat back the enemy in Burma, but they rendered valu-

able service by policing the North-West Frontier of India. They took over full responsibility for its protection from the air.

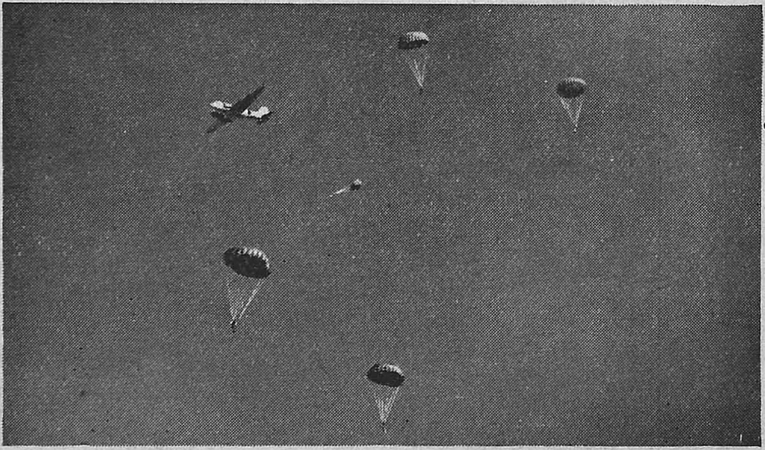
Many high distinctions were awarded to our pilots. During the Burma campaign of 1944-45 alone, 10 Indian pilots won the D.F.C. (Distinguished Flying Cross) and one the D.S.O. One

FLYING OFFICER S. E. SUKHTHANKER, D. F. C.

young officer, Flight-Lieutenant S. E. Sukhthanker, distinguished himself by leading raids on Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, Munich, Turin, Genoa and other European cities. Forty Indian pilots helped to guard the skies of England at the most critical period in her history when the German bombers were trying to destroy her ports and industrial centres.

The geographical position of India makes her a 'focal point' in the world's transport system. The defence and security of such a vast country as India in these days of mechanized warfare can never be complete unless our country has a strong air force.

India now has first-class training centres where young men are given thorough instruction in the art



Courtesy: Ministry of Defence

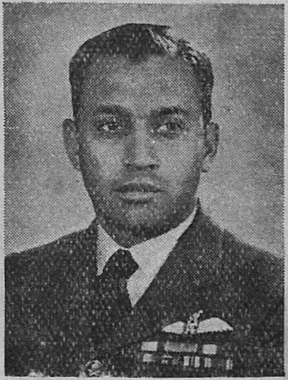
INDIAN PARATROOPS

of flying. Anyone who is between the ages of 17½ and 21 years, possesses good eyesight (6.6), has a high standard of physical fitness, has passed the Matriculation Examination or its equivalent and is adventurous and eager to learn to fly, can join the I.A.F.

The course of training is long and strenuous but pleasant and interesting. It covers a period of two years.

There is a future for every one of you in the I.A.F., if you are strong and active, if you are attracted by an adventurous life, and if you are inspired by an honest desire to become an expert flyer. Any young man of the right type may hope to rise to a high position in the service, and not only to win distinction for himself but to uphold the security and honour of his country.

The Indian Army now consists entirely of Indians. The Commander-in-Chief of the whole army is an Indian. Several senior appointments in the navy are held now by Indians. Air Vice-Marshal S. Mukerjee will succeed Air Marshal G. E. Gibbs as Chief of the Air Staff and Commander-in-Chief, Indian Air Force, in the rank of Air Marshal, from 1st April, 1954.



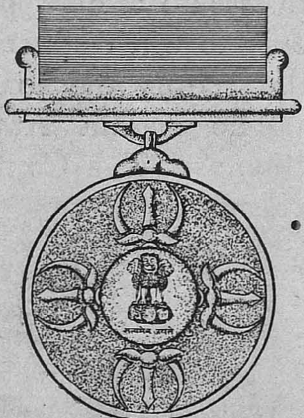
Courtesy: Ministry of Defence

AIR VICE-MARSHAL S. MUKERJEE

With the inauguration of India as a Sovereign Republic on 26th January, 1950, three new gallantry awards have been instituted by the President. They are designated the *Param Vir Chakra*, the *Maha Vir Chakra* and the *Vir Chakra*. These are for gallantry in combat with the enemy and come into force with effect from 15th August, 1947.

The *Param Vir Chakra* will be awarded for most conspicuous bravery, or some daring or pre-eminent act of valour, or self-sacrifice, in the presence of the enemy, whether on land, at sea or in the air. It will rank first among the awards.

Major Somnath Sharma who laid down his life has been given the distinction of being the first recipient of the highest military honour under the Republic.



PARAM VIR CHAKRA

If Major Sharma's gallant action had not held the enemy for five vital hours the aerodrome would have gone and with it Kashmir.

The *Param Vir Chakra* which, like the Victoria Cross in the United Kingdom, is the highest award for personal valour, has been granted posthumously to Major Sharma of the 4th Battalion, Kumaon Regiment.

The other winners of the *Param Vir Chakra*,

It is only small groups who know that they cannot get sufficient popular support that resort to methods of violence, imagining in their folly that they can gain their ends in this way. This is not only utterly wrong but it is also utterly foolish. For the reaction to the violence of the minority, which seeks to coerce the majority, is to provoke the majority into violence against them.

This great tragedy has happened because many persons, including some in high places, have poisoned the atmosphere of this country of ours. It is the duty of the Government as well as the people to root out this poison. We have had our lesson at a terrible cost. Is there anyone amongst us now who will not pledge himself after Gandhiji's death to fulfil his mission—a mission for which the greatest man of our country, the greatest man in the world, has laid down his life?

You and I and all of us will go back from these sands of our noble river, the Ganga. We shall feel sad and lonely. We shall never see Gandhiji again. We used to run to him for advice and guidance whenever we were confronted with any great problem or when we felt ill at ease or in doubt. There is none to advise us now or to share our burdens. It is not I alone or a few of us who looked up to him for help. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of our countrymen considered him their intimate friend and counsellor. All of us felt that we were

his children. Rightly he was called the Father of our Nation and in millions of homes today there is mourning as on the passing away of a beloved father.

We shall go away from this river bank sad and lonely. But we shall also think with pride of the high and unique privilege that has been ours to have had for our chief and leader and friend this mighty person, who carried us to great heights on the way to freedom and truth. And the way of struggle that he taught us was also the way of truth. Remember also that the path he showed us was one of fighting for the good and against evil and not the way of sitting quietly on the peaks of the Himalayas. And so we have to fight on and not seek escape or rest. We have to do our duty and fulfil the pledges we have given him. Let us tread the path of truth and *Dharma*. Let us make India a great country in which goodwill and harmony prevail and every man and woman, irrespective of faith and belief, can live in dignity and freedom.

How often have we shouted, '*Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai*'. By shouting this slogan we thought we had done our duty. Gandhiji always felt pained to hear this shouting, for he knew how little it meant and how often it just took the place of action or even of thought. '*Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai*'—'Victory to Mahatma Gandhi'—what victory could we wish him or give him? He was the Vic-

torious One in life and in death. It is you and I and this unfortunate country who have to struggle for victory.

Throughout his life he thought of India in terms of the poor and the oppressed and the downtrodden. To raise them and free them was the mission of his life. He adopted their ways of life and dress so that no one in the country might feel lowly. Victory to him was the growth of freedom of these people.

What kind of triumph did Gandhiji wish for us? Not the triumph for which most people and countries strive through violence, fraud, treachery and evil means. That kind of victory is not stable. For the foundations of a lasting victory can only be laid on the rock of truth. Gandhiji gave us a new method of struggle and political warfare and a new kind of diplomacy. He demonstrated the efficacy of truth and goodwill and non-violence in politics. He taught us to respect and co-operate with every Indian as a man and as a fellow-citizen, irrespective of his political belief or religious creed. We all belong to Mother India and have to live and die here. We are all equal partners in the freedom that we have won. Every one of our three or four hundred million people must have an equal right to the opportunities and blessings that free India has to offer. It was not a few privileged persons that Gandhiji strove and died for. We have to strive for the same ideal and in the same way.

Then only shall we be worthy to say, '*Mahatma Gandhi Ki Jai*'.

Jawaharlal Nehru.

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QUESTIONS

1. How can we best honour Gandhiji's name?
2. What were Gandhiji's teachings?
3. What is meant by the Gandhi Age?
4. In what ways was Gandhiji a pillar of strength to his countrymen?
5. What was Gandhiji's message?
6. What might bring disaster upon us?
7. What should we avoid in order to preserve our freedom?
8. How can democracy work successfully?
9. How can we make India a great country?
10. What kind of triumph did Gandhiji wish for us?

NOTES

martyrdom : suffering or death for a righteous cause.
abundantly : generously; lavishly.
radiance : bright light.
dissensions : disputes; violent differences of opinion.
conflicts : struggles; strife.
beacon : signal fire or light.
compatriots : fellow-countrymen.

feeble : infirm; lacking energy.
stature : moral height.
enshrined : kept in a sacred place like something holy.
recurring : repeated again and again.
malice : ill-will; spite.
internecine : deadly to each other (especially as in a civil war).
marvelled : wondered.
impending : imminent ; near at hand.
self-crucifixion : suffering imposed on himself.
forbearance : patience.
doomed : fated to destruction.
perilous : dangerous.
integrity : uprightness; honesty.
coerce : compel by force, physical or moral.
confronted : faced.
irrespective of : without any regard to differences of.
downtrodden : literally, trampled under foot; poor and helpless.
fraud : deceit; cheating.
treachery : betraying those who trust us.
diplomacy : discussion and management of affairs between nations.
strove : struggled; made every effort.

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